Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-92-079 *23 April 1992*

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Slovenia

On 22 April the Slovene Assembly passed a vote of no confidence in Prime Minister Lojze Peterle's government, Ljubljana radio reports. Janez Drnovek, the Liberal Democratic Party candidate, was elected prime minister by 126 out of 208 votes. Commenting on his election victory, Drnovek said that "the new government will be facing a fairly stormy period" and that he is "counting on" cabinet members and parties who did not support his election to help form a new government, according to Zagreb radio. In an interview with Ljubljana radio, Drnovsek said that he does not have names for all the positions in the new government and that he has "put aside" the economic posts where he says he "will not appoint anybody merely on the basis of his party membership." According to AFP, in an address to the Slovene Assembly, Drnovsek said that he plans to hold legislative elections "soon" and that he may ask for "special powers" if economic changes are "slow in coming."

Bosnia-Hercegovina

In an interview with Belgrade TV, Radovan Karadzic, head of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Hercegovina, said that he has "nothing against the United States intervening in Muslim Bosnia-Hercegovina." He said that Serbs "are convinced that the United States will not clash with us, as we have no intention whatsoever of moving within Muslim Bosnia-Hercegovina." In a "draft platform" submitted to the Serbian news agency, Karadzic calls for an "urgent and unconditional cease-fire" and urges all the parties involved "to promise that constituent parts of the republic" will not "join neighboring countries" or accept "forces from outside," TANJUG reports.

Poland

Warsaw Radio on 22 April reports the breakdown of talks for forming a "grand coalition" of parties in the government. According to PAP, Prime Minister Jan Olszewski "deplored" the abandonment of the negotiations by the Democratic Union (UD), Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD), and Polish Economic Program (PPG). He said he had informed the negotiators that the question of reassigning portfolios that are "within the competence of the president" was limited to an "exchange of opinions only," and a reshuffle of portfolios "would mean breaking the continuity of this government's work." Leaders of the UD, KLD, and PPG, speaking at a press conference, blamed the failure of negotiations on Olszewski. UD leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki said the main reason for the talks breakup was "the prime minister's negligence to respect the principle that all ministerial posts...are negotiable...when the cabinet is being reconstructed." Donald Tusk, KLD leader, blamed Olszewski for a "lack of initiative and clear decision in...the coalition question."

Czechoslovakia

On 22 April the Federal Assembly ratified the Czechoslovak-German Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed by President Vaclav Havel and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl on 27 February, CSTK reports. The treaty was approved by 74 of 117 deputies in the House of Nations and 70 of 109 deputies in the House of the People. In introducing the bill to the Assembly, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier stressed the importance of the treaty and the time taken to negotiate it. He said the treaty would "enable Czechoslovakia to attain full membership in the European Community."

German Foreign Minister Genscher Arrives in Tirana

LD2204090292 Berlin ADN in German 0728 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Tirana (ADN)—Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher arrived in Tirana this morning for a one-day visit to Albania where he was welcomed by thousands of citizens. During his short visit to the capital, Genscher will meet the President Sali Berisha and other politicians. On behalf of the federal government, he will conclude an air-traffic agreement and an agreement on cooperation in labor and social policies with the first democratically elected government. The federal foreign minister will address the deputies of the parliament elected on 22 March and will speak in the industrial town of Elbasan before he returns to Bonn in the evening.

Congratulates Berisha, 'Democratic Albania'

AU2204110792 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 0820 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Statement by German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher at news conference in Tirana in German—live or recorded]

[Text] Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen: Mr. President, I would like to congratulate you also in front of the press on your election as the president of democratic Albania. This is my third visit to your country. When I was here the first time, my task was to initiate the process of democratization, to prepare and make possible Albania's acceptance in the CSCE. Today I am here to greet Albania's freely elected government and its freely elected parliament. Germany will do everything in its power to enable Albania to assume its place in the community of the European democracies. [words indistinct] initialed a cooperation agreement with the EC. This can only be a first step. Germany supports Albania's desire to conclude an association treaty with the EC. Association also means [passage indistinct]. A long and difficult path lies ahead, but the goal should be clear. This goal is also a window of hope for the people in this country, who have suffered a great deal.

We support Albania's acceptance in international financial organizations. Initial reports by experts have assesses Albania's reform efforts in a positive way. Above all, they consider it important that Albania be included in the aid provided by the G-24, and that it can become a member of the Council of Europe. From our own experience in East Germany, we know that efficiency in public administration and the introduction of the rule of law are indispensable, as is the efficiency of a (?social partnership). For this reason, we want to support Albania in word and deed in its introduction of a social market economy, and in the establishment of an efficient administration and of independent courts. A delegation of experts that will come to Albania will examine all possibilities for specific and efficient cooperation. [words indistinct]

We share the worries of the Albanian Government concerning the fate of the Albanians in Serbia. Germany has vigorously supported efforts to ensure respect for democracy, human rights, the rights of minorities, and the right to self-determination in the former Yugoslavia. We believe that the (?conditions) set by the EC must become effective in all successor states to Yugoslavia, including Serbia. The time when states tried to safeguard their interests through military power should belong to the past in Europe once and for all. We share the Albanian Government's view that respect for the existing borders is an indispensable precondition for peace in Europe.

Mr. President, I wish you and your people, the freely elected parliament, and you, the freely elected president, and the government much success on the path to democracy and a market economy. [words indistinct]

Holds News Conference in Tirana

AU2204115192 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 0830 GMT 22 Apr 92

[News conference by German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher with unidentified correspondents in Tirana; Genscher speaks in German with superimposed translation into Albanian—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The Albanian president has called on international organizations and the German Government to provide assistance to Albania with the issue of economic emigration. What is your opinion on that? Second question: We were very happy about Germany's support for Albania's membership in the CSCE. What is your position on the issue of Albania joining NATO?

[Genscher] NATO has created the possibility for the former Warsaw Pact member states to cooperate in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. Albania abandoned the Warsaw Pact at an early stage, and it must now not be punished for having done so. This means that in Germany's view, Albania should be able to actively participate in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, just like Hungary, the CSFR, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, and the successor states to the former USSR.

[Correspondent] Will Germany be prepared to accept economic emigrants?

[Genscher] There is a first agreement with Germany on this issue, according to which 500 workers from Albania will be permitted to go to Germany.

[Correspondent] How important will Albania be for Germany's foreign policy compared to other East European countries?

[Genscher] It will not be regarded as less important than other countries in southeastern Europe. We do not consider you to be part of an eastern Europe but of southeastern Europe. That Albania plays an important role in our foreign policy is reflected in the fact that this

is my third visit here. We have always made it clear that we did not forget the Albanian people. Although the country's former leadership wanted to isolate Albania, we did not.

[Correspondent] Foreign Minister, next week you will have important meetings on the subject of the former Yugoslavia. How important will the issue of Kosovo be in these meetings?

[Genscher] The EC agreed on principles regarding the future of the former Yugoslavia. These principles were accepted by all former Yugoslav republics, with the exception of Serbia. These principles provide answers to all those questions that refer to the fate of the Albanians in Serbia. We consider it important that the community of states urge Serbia to agree to these principles because it is the only former Yugoslav republic that has not done so yet.

[Correspondent] After the March elections will the federal government's financial aid to Albania [passage indistinct]

[Genscher] Germany provided considerable aid to Albania even before that. Germany is now in favor of the group of 24 extending its aid to Albania. It is well-known that Germany contributes a considerable share to the aid of the G24. As far as specific plans are concerned, decisions will be made after the talks at the expert level that will be conducted here. We attach great importance to the subject of training and I hope that the investment protection agreement, which we signed some time ago will show its effect after the new government initiates its reform policy.

[Correspondent] In the past 45 years we were isolated from the world through an iron curtain. This iron curtain was torn down in our last elections on 22 March. We are now free citizens. When will visa requirements be lifted so that we can become free citizens of the world?

[Genscher] I think that this issue will be settled in the course of the forthcoming developments. However, I would like to emphasize that the freedom a the people is not restricted by visa requirements. Even we Germans need visas for many countries but do not consider it to be a problem for our freedom.

[Correspondent] You said that the borders in Europe will not be changed. There are some 300,000 Albanians of Greek descent in Albania. In Greece there are 300,000 Greek citizens of Albanian descent. These people were expelled from their homes because they were accused of collaborating with the Germans during World War II. Will those people be able to return to their ancestral homes.

[Genscher] I think that this issue must be settled between Albania and Greece.

[Unidentified reporter] Will Germany recognize an independent republic of Kosovo? So far there have not been any promising signals for such a step?

[Genscher] I have made reference to the principles established by the EC. These include the inviolability of borders but also minority rights and autonomy. I think it will be important not to differentiate between first-class and second-class autonomy rights. The same applies to minority rights. Germany believes that those principles established by the EC must apply to all successor states of the former Yugoslavia without any difference.

[Correspondent] Does the German Government refer to a population of 2 million in Kosovo as a minority?

[Genscher] The population of Kosovo must have the rights that have been established by the principles of the EC. You will certainly remember that autonomy rights existed in the past but were subsequently removed, which was internationally criticized, including by Germany. I think it is important for you to know that German policy consistently supports those principles that we agreed on in the EC. These principles were also recognized by the CSCE. Since all decisions in the CSCE must be unanimous, they were also supported by Albania.

[Correspondent] The problem of the Albanian exodus is a problem with many aspects. There has certainly be some manipulation with the feelings of the poor people, who, for half a century, dreamed of the idea of emigration and seeking a better life outside the borders of Albania. During this period, millions of Italians, Greeks, Spaniards, Portuguese, and Turks abandoned their home countries and went to Germany and other countries to lead a better life. We think that, for a certain period of time—three to four years—the Albanians should also be granted the right to go abroad. This time will be necessary to improve and stabilize their living conditions. In general—with maybe a few exceptions—everywhere they went they proved that they are hardworking. This is why we are trying to really organize emigration, to offer seasonal emigration. Apart from the economic development of the country this will be another factor to prevent the exodus.

[Genscher] Ladies and gentlemen, I am now due to visit the parliament. I consider it a great honor, and since I have been a parliamentarian for a long time, I know that the deputies do not appreciate having to wait. Therefore, I would like to say goodbye, and I would be glad if you would accompany me to the parliament.

Addresses People's Assembly

AU2204131692 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 0910 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Statement by FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to the People's Assembly in Tirana; in German with passage-by-passage translation into Albanian; translated from German—live]

[Text] Mr. President, I welcome the deputies of the freely elected Albanian parliament. I welcome the freedom-loving Albanian people. They decided in favor of

freedom, democracy, and human dignity. [words indistinct] outstanding personalities, their courage and their determination, which showed the way to democracy.

Thank you for the honor of being permitted to speak before you, the freely elected representatives of your people. I convey to you the greetings and the good wishes of the German people. Less than two years ago, we regained our unity in freedom. Just like you, we know what it means if democracy is destroyed and freedom ignored.

With what it has achieved today, Albania continues democratic traditions of which it can be proud. Under foreign rule, which lasted for centuries, the Albanian people maintained their desire for freedom. The Skipetars' unbending will to freedom is legendary across Europe. Again and again, your people had to protect their independence from external dangers.

Almost 100 years ago, the great son of your country, Sami Frasheri developed the concept of an independent Albanian state according to the Western model in his book *What Albania Has Been, What It Is, and What It Will Be*. In 1924 under the leadership of president, writer, and bishop Fan S. Noli the first attempt was made to give Albania a democratic constitution. [words indistinct] after the horrors of World War II, communist dictatorship, and the country's complete isolation.

The revolutionary process that profoundly changed all of the western part of Europe [word indistinct] freedom-loving Albanians [words indistinct]. Now democracy, the observation of human rights, and a rule-of-law state are being restored. The parliamentary elections of 22 March 1992 are a decisive break in Albanian history. I cordially congratulate all deputies who gained a mandate in these elections. They bear great responsibility on their shoulders. The Albanian people entrusted the country's fate to them in a historic and decisive transition period. The heritage of a dictatorship that failed [words indistinct]. But the chances for a determined new beginning are greater. They must now truly be used.

The FRG is at the forefront of the countries that support Albania in word and deed. [applause] Almost one-third of the help provided by the EC has come from Germany. We are prepared to share the experiences that we gathered in the course of the transformation process in the new German laender with all those confronting similar tasks. The relations between our countries go back a long time. As early as 200 years ago, German researchers were pioneers in the scientific study of the Albanian language. In view of this, I should have prepared myself in a better way for my speech today by learning your language. [applause] Germans also contributed to the geographic and economic development of your country.

No one in Germany, however, will forget the dark sides of our joint history during World War II. The process of democratization and reform is regarded with deep sympathy in Germany. We respect Albania as an important partner with equal rights in Europe. You can count on our full and active support in your efforts to find the proper place for your country in the new, democratic Europe. [applause]

Right from the beginning I have been particularly attached to the political reform process in Albania. Last summer Albania was admitted to the CSCE. The impressions regarding the chances of democratization that I gathered in your country a few days ago were supportive of this decision. I am particularly pleased that Albania was admitted to the circle of the CSCE states under my chairmanship in Berlin. Albania has not disappointed the international expectations connected with its admission to the CSCE. In the preparation for the last elections, your country cooperated openmindedly and trustingly with the CSCE office for free elections in Warsaw.

Now the primacy of human rights and the rule-of-law state must also stand the test where the assessment of the past is at issue. Here I think, above all, of the rehabilitation and reintegration of the people who have been politically persecuted.

We also hope for vigorous Albanian participation in the future-oriented shaping of our common European Continent. With the CSCE, a common consultation and operation area was established that extends from Vancouver to Vladivostok, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. The efficiency of the CSCE must increase quickly. It must become a forum that makes the prevention of conflicts possible and the control of crises through political cooperation. Where conflicts erupt despite precautionary measures, it must quickly and efficiently contribute to a solution.

The CSCE was founded as a community of values. It must now develop into a community able to act and make decisions. Security today means avoiding confrontation and preventing the eruption of serious conflicts through comprehensive cooperation and a fair reconciliation of interests. Security means recognizing, on the basis of our own interests, common interests that unite all of us and that are linked with the great challenges of the interdependent modern industrial and communications society. The goal of the CSCE process is a lasting and just peace throughout Europe. In the European order that we want to create, all people should be able to realize their ideas about life together peacefully, without fear, without distrust, and on the basis of equal rights and free speech.

This is an order in which ideas can be disseminated freely, in which people can gather without impediment, in which the administrative barriers for the free movement of goods and capital are reduced to an absolute minimum. Respect for the interests of others is the precondition for safeguarding one's own interests. We must not allow national egotism to produce the demon of nationalism once more. This demon has repeatedly plunged Europe into terrible wars. We want a policy based on responsibility but which rejects any striving for predominance or superiority. This is a decisive contribution to overcoming the barriers that separated the

peoples in Europe for over 40 years. We need unified norms and standards in research and technology.

The CSCE prevents us from falling back into the fatal nationalist thinking of the past century. The future of Europe does not lie in countries distancing themselves from each other in a timid and distrustful manner, but in their cooperation. The challenges of the modern world do not stop at borders. For this reason, replies must not stop at borders either.

Mr. President, during the current period of change it is particularly important for a comprehensive security dialogue to prevent the creation of new hostile images. The North Atlantic Cooperation Council is an important part of this security dialogue. We want Albania to find its place in this body, too. Albania finally left the Warsaw Pact in 1968 in protest against its brutal intervention in Czechoslovakia. It would be unjust now to deny Albania access to an important cooperation body in which NATO and former Warsaw Pact members jointly discuss security issues in an open and constructive manner.

The EC is a peace structure that has already been implemented. Its unique success during the past 35 years shows that prosperity and security can only be ensured on a lasting basis through international cooperation. We want to deepen and expand the EC. The EC must be open to all democracies in Europe. The trade and cooperation agreement between Albania and the EC that has just been initialed is a decisive step toward strengthening ties between Albania and the EC. It contains the specific prospect of association.

We also want to support efforts aimed at involving Albania to a greater extent in political cooperation with the EC. We support an association agreement to clear the path toward full Albanian membership in the EC. The Council of Europe can also provide important assistance in the creation of legal institutions and democratic structures.

Mr. President, human rights and freedom must be respected among all European peoples. This also applies to the rights of minorities and the right to self-determination. No nation has more reason to respect the right to self-determination than Germany. No other people, however, are more aware that the right to self-determination is indivisibly linked with the principle of the inviolability of borders and the categorical renouncement of force. Germany's experiences concerning regulations for minorities are positive. We want our high standards to be applied to the rights of all minorities in Europe.

The CSCE Commission which, at my initiative, prepared a report on the human rights situation in Kosovo in January this year, described the situation as highly unsatisfactory in many respects. Such a statement cannot remain without consequences. The CSCE Council of Ministers must continue to deal with this problem. Germany shares your concerns about developments in Kosovo. The peace conference for Yugoslavia initiated by the EC works on the basis of the following principles: No unilateral changes of borders, protection of human rights, and respect for the rights of all ethnic and national minorities. These principles must be implemented in the same way for all peoples in all successor states to the former Yugoslavia. These must also be guaranteed by Serbia for Kosovo.

Mr. President, no one can define the enormous tasks that you are facing. Let me tell you the following, however, as a friend of your country: I am convinced that you are on the right path. I want you to know that you will receive support on your path toward a better future. We want to stand by your side as good friends. All of Europe is taking lively interest in events in your country. Delays in economic reconstruction and in the reorganization of the state and society do not only occur in Albania. The East-West conflict that has been overcome must not be replaced by a new economic gap between rich and poor countries. In the long run, emigration and mass escape are no answer to economic and social problems. We must open up new development prospects for people in their home countries and give them fresh hope. We wish Albania a happy future. We hope that the proud and freedom-loving Albanian people will be able to found their future on freedom, democracy, human dignity, and human rights. Long live the free Albania in a free Europe. [applause] Long live the friendship between Germans and Albanians. [applause]

Holds Talks With Berisha

AU2204210592 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Sokol Terihati report on President Sali Berisha's statement at a news conference with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Tirana on 22 April]

[Text] First I want to thank Mr. Genscher again for this visit of friendship and hope for us Albanians. The third visit of Mr. Genscher right after the victory of democracy shows the great concern of the deputy chancellor and foreign minister of Germany for Albania and his friendly feelings about Albania and the Albanian people. On every visit he has made to our country, he has transmitted Albania the great message of democracy.

In talks with Genscher some minutes ago, we first treated the problem of establishing a law governed state and setting up a developed economy in Albania. Our main obligations are establishing public order by setting into motion the law governed state and setting up democratic institutions. I informed him that our urgent economic priorities are aid for agriculture. It is also very imperative for us to continue the economic reform.

I briefed him about the meeting I held yesterday with the director of the International Monetary Fund for Albania, who considers the program of the Albanian government wonderful. This is our hope, that the democratic countries will help Albania. Other fields we need help in are the mining sector and industry. We also asked Hermes

and other bank institutions to help us with credits to resume work in our enterprises and to abolish the 80-percent law.

Transportation was another field that we covered in our talks. We need cooperation and help from Germany in this branch. The present situation in transportation worsens the present paralysis of our economy. We asked Germany to support us by the international institutions, especially by the CSCE, G24, European Community, and International Monetary Fund in accepting Albania as a member.

We also discussed the situation in the region, the war logic followed by Milosevic and the Serbian leading circles in solving the Yugoslav crisis, and the threatening situation for Albanians in Yugoslavia. We insisted and insist on recognizing the right to self-determination, and we do not want changed borders. Mr. Genscher guaranteed that the German state and he personally have played a great role in the political developments in Europe and that he and Germany recognize the peoples' right to self-determination. They will support Albania in the difficult road toward democracy. A big delegation of experts will come to determine the special aid in establishing a law governed state, democratic institutions, and in special economic fields. Mr. Genscher personally and the German state will support Albania to be an associate member and later a full member of the European democratic institutions.

We consider Mr. Genscher's visit as very important and a great support in the victory of democracy, all the democratic forces in Albania, and of the new government that came out of the 22 March elections. I consider this visit as a great and important step in the relations between our countries that have historic and friendly inextricable ties. In these talks I expressed my desire and that of my people that President Weizsaecker and Chancellor Helmut Kohl come for a visit to Albania. In conclusion, President Berisha said that we are poor people, but our friend Germany has been like a God to us.

Meets With Serreqi, Signs Agreement

AU2204164892 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Zamira Koleci report]

[Text] On his way to Tirana, Mr. Genscher was greeted by inhabitants of the areas of Vore, Preze, Kashar, and Laprake. When he entered the city, the people greeting him were more numerous. At Skenderbeg Square, the cars were obliged to stop many times, because the capital's inhabitants lovingly greeted the friend from Germany.

The meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs began at 0900 [0700 GMT]. Our delegation consisted of Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi, Minister of Order Bashkim Kopliku, Minister of Economy and Finance Genc Ruli, Minister of Transportation and Communications Fatos Bitincka, and Dashamir Shehi, minister of labor, social assistance, emigration, and political persecutees. The German delegation consisted of the Foreign Minister Dietrich Genscher and other people accompanying him.

In his speech, Serreqi expressed appreciation for Genscher's visit stressing that the Albanians know that Germany has not forgotten them. After mentioning the relations between our peoples, he pointed out that the first Albanian intellectuals studied in Germany. The Albanian Catholic population has taught the religion's protectorate from the Austro-Hungarian churches that undoubtedly have a culture in common with Germany. Our specialists in Albanian studies have graduated in Germany.

Serreqi went on to say that besides economic aid, we think that Germany's contribution should be felt in changing the Albanian mentality consistent with the communist policy. German culture and behavior should be developed in the people and among the Albanian youth.

After expressing appreciation for Mr. Genscher's contribution to accelerating the democratic processes in Albania and its integration into Europe, Serreqi expressed his conviction that he will contribute to accepting Albania as member with full rights in other international organizations and forums.

By pointing out the efforts of the German foreign minister to resolve the crisis in Yugoslavia, Serreqi said that the solution to this problem and that of the Albanians living in the territories of Yugoslavia is a primary one for the situation in the Balkans and for Albania itself. The Albanian foreign minister also noted the problems of emigration and the aid that Germany can give in this direction. He said that he appreciates the treatment of our refugees in Germany.

In conclusion, Serreqi said that our meeting is somewhat social in one respect. A new minister, in office only 10 days, is facing a very renowned personality in Europe and a minister with many years' experience.

Genscher thanked his Albanian counterpart for the warm greeting and said that during his visit to Albania he is stressing strengthening cooperation between the two countries. He said that this is his third visit to Albania. During my first visit, I tried to help Albanians toward democracy. During my second visit, I worked to bring about the conditions for your country's acceptance into the CSCE. Today, I have come to express my heartfelt greetings to the new government that came out of the free elections. I have also come to clarify what we can do to expand our relations, so that Albania occupies its place together with all the other European countries, its deserved place in the European Community.

The talks continued but without the presence of reporters. Afterward, two agreements were signed between our two governments. The first had to do with air transport and the second with German assistance for the Ministry of Labor. The German Government will help to create the offices of this ministry because, as the minister of labor said in his interview after his election,

this is quite a new ministry that needs reorganization and restructuring. The conception of this ministry itself will be new. They signed an agreement on this issue.

Aid Projects Agreement Signed With Germany

AU2204083792 Tirana ATA in English 0811 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Tirana, April 22 (ATA)—On April 21 the agreement was signed in Tirana between the Government of the Republic of Albania and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany for financial cooperation (the project: the program of granting existence for particularly poor regions) and "The Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of Albania and the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany for Financial Cooperation (the project: improvement of buildings for Tirana Universities students").

According to the agreement for the first project the government of the FRG will grant a free financial sum estimated to 20 million marks for improving the conditions in the field of health service and supply with drinking water for the districts of Kukes and Kavaje.

According to the second agreement, the government of the FRG will grant a financial aid estimated to 5 million marks in the form of a loan on facillitating conditions to improve the conditions in general and the hygenic-sanitary and food ones in the students' campus in Tirana.

The agreement was signed for the Albanian side by the minister of trade and foreign economic cooperation Mr. Artan Hoxha whereas for the German party by the ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in Tirana, Dr. Claus Vollers.

Berisha, Rugova Discuss Serb Violence in Kosovo

AU2004140192 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 2000 GMT 17 Apr 92

[Text] At the People's Assembly this morning, Albanian President Sali Berisha received Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance and of the Interparty Council in former Yugoslavia.

Professor Sali Berisha stressed that he felt very happy to meet Professor Ibrahim Rugova, a distinguished personality of the Albanian people in Kosovo and in the Albanian territories in the former Yugoslavia. He asked about the present situation in Kosovo and the consequences of the oppressive policy and violence that Serbia exerts toward the Albanians there.

Dr. Rugova reviewed the difficult situation in which the Albanian people live in the Republic of Kosovo and in the other territories and the increase of Serbian forces and terror in Kosovo. Dr. Rugova pointed out that in contrast to this, we insist on solving our problems by dialogue alone. We demand that peace and self-restraint be kept to avoid any possibility of new escalations of violence against the people.

Professor Berisha stressed in his speech that he appreciates this brotherly visit and pointed out the help and support that the Kosovo Democratic Alliance and its political parties rendered in the victory of the democratic forces in the 22 March elections in Albania. Dr. Berisha said that the victory of democracy is advantageous to the Albanian nation. This is a great victory that will greatly influence the integration of Albania into Europe. In doing this, we can no longer rely on the methods used by the last government. We can no longer continue with the old symbols of the former dictatorship.

After again offering congratulations for the victory of the Democratic Party and democratic forces, Professor Rugova expressed his conviction that great possibilities have now been created for our people to put their energies and minds to the service, good, and progress of the nation.

Professor Ali Aliu and Hafiz Sagica, chairmen of the Board of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance for Germany, and the United States and Australia, respectively, were present at this cordial and brotherly conversation.

Dimitrov Reportedly Asks Ludzhev To Resign

AU2204194192 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] On 22 April Defense Minister Dimitur Ludzhev was summoned to the Council of Ministers by Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov. The Prime Minister has proposed to him to resign. BTA has received no confirmation of this report from parliamentary sources.

Ludzhev Explains Conflict With Cabinet

AU2304104592 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Text] The Council of Ministers session has just started. Prior to the opening, Minister of Defense Dimitur Ludzhev was requested by a group of reporters to express his view on the reasons that his resignation was requested. This is how our reporter Lilyana Mikhaylova, who attended the meeting with Minister Ludzhev, reported his statement:

It is evident that our local plotters have decided to announce my resignation and to ascribe to me all sorts of grave sins that I will not mention because I have not committed them, Minister Ludzhev reportedly pointed out. This is one of the many plots concocted by a certain entourage. I am simply becoming inconvenient for them, and that is all. I have never said that I am not going to resign. I just said that these questions should be resolved by the parliamentary group, Minister Ludzhev reportedly stressed.

The parliamentary group will make its decision after hearing me. I am not very keen on being in the same cabinet with a person who applies such methods in dealing with his ministers who, nevertheless, have always been loyal. I mean the prime minister, who has been treating me in this manner, Dimitur Ludzhev is reported to have said. I do not see any reason for this, but as prime minister he is entitled to form his cabinet according to his wishes. I think that the Ministry of Defense is the only ministry that so far has not been subject to even one official critical remark. The Ministry of Defense is implementing the program which we called the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] program, and the implementation of the program continues, Mr. Ludzhev went on. What worries me is the fact that the deadline for adopting the specific structures and the new payrolls in the various branches of service was set for the end of April. The recruitment of new officers's cadres was expected to begin as of 5 May. This threatens the interests of many high-ranking officers.

In connection with the end of the training year in the Army the order on the retirement of several officers and on new appointments was supposed to come into force. Naturally this is also of some significance. It is a strange coincidence that my resignation is requested exactly at this moment, Dimitur Ludzhev is reported saying. It seems that I made a great number of enemies, because I attacked the banks and the mafia in all its different dimensions. It is true that many people wish my resignation. My conscience is clear, however. Everything is evident, we know who is working, and who is only talking.

I think that I have completed my historical task. If I must go, I will go. After all, we are not married to those ministerial posts and when someone thinks that a person has no place in his cabinet, he is entitled to think so. The truth is that I really do not approve of many of the methods in which the SDS policy is being implemented. I am advocating a more outspoken policy, a policy that should be more accessible to the people, Minister Ludzhev is reported stating.

Zhelev Reportedly Opposes Political Parties Ban

AU2204163592 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Apr 92 p 1

[Vanyo Stoilov report from Kazunluk: "President Zhelev Is Categorically Opposed To Banning Any Party Whatsoever"]

[Excerpt] I am categorically opposed to the banning of any party whatsoever, even the one in question, because, in doing so, we would be likely to impede our own road to Europe, President Zhelev stated. He was answering a question about his approach to the threats of banning the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. Let us learn how to defeat a party in parliament, just as we defeated it in the elections, the speaker continued. The audience could not help noticing the fact that the president persistently avoided pronouncing the name of the BSP. [passage omitted]

Assembly Decides on Privatization Allocation

AU2204074092 Sofia BTA in English 2120 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] Sofia, April 21 (BTA)—The second-reading passage of the privatization bill continued today with texts on the transformation and privatization of state and municipal companies.

Bulgarians who owned companies nationalized in the 1946-62 period will be given prior right to subscribe for shares in their privatization. The companies they owned are now part of larger state-owned enterprises. The acts on restitution do not make provisions for such cases.

Today parliament passed the chapter on placement of shares, which makes provisions for the preferential treatment of company employees. Up to 20 per cent of the shares will be available to company employees at half the government-set price. These shares will be transformed into voting shares three years after their placement. This social-oriented part of the bill was debated heatedly. MP's of the Socialist Party insisted that it be strengthened because, according to them, state employees—physicians, civil servants, teachers, the military and the police—are left out of the provisions on preferential

treatment. According to MP's of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces, the bill is based entirely on market-economy principles.

Under the privatization bill, shares in state-owned companies transformed into joint-stock companies should be sold by flotation of shares, by auctions and after negotiations with potential buyers. Sales may employ all three options simultaneously and the sale of shares can be effected in several stages. The initial price will be determined by the value of the enterprise.

The privatization agency authorized by the finance minister can allow Bulgarians to pay for shares by instalments. Shares will be available to creditors of the privatized company on a debt-for-equity swap basis with the privatization agency's permission.

The bill provides for a 30 per cent reduction in the initial price in cases when the company is auctioned off to the employees.

Tomorrow parliament will probably pass on second reading the additional and the final provisions of the privatization bill.

Work at Kozloduy Nuclear Plant Updated

AU2204172492 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 18 Apr 92 p 4

["DUMA PRESS" report]

[Text] During March work continued on the overhaul and reconstruction of the Nos. 1 and 2 generating units at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, according to the program coordinated with the international organizations for increasing the units' reliability. This is stated in the monthly report on the state of nuclear and radiation safety at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant that we receive from the plant. During March the No. 3 generating unit produced 297,480,073 kilowatt-hours of electric power without any emergency or planned stoppages. The unit experienced three malfunctions during the month, all of which were eliminated within the prescribed period and did not cause any breakdown in the operational efficiency of the safety channels.

The No. 4 generating unit produced 239,110,052 kilowatt-hours of electricity during the month, at a design output factor of 0.77. No emergency shutdowns or reductions in output occurred.

The No. 5 unit was started up on 1 March and produced 639,820,000 kilowatt-hours of electric power at an installed output factor of 0.86. No planned or emergency stoppages occurred, and all planned functional tests of the safety systems were carried out.

The No. 6 generating unit produced 459,888,720 kilowatt-hours of electric power, utilizing 62 percent of its output capacity. On 2 March the unit's output was reduced to the minimum controllable level, and on 5 March the loading on the unit was increased to 75 percent, due to insufficient cooling capacity of the heat exchangers in the emergency cooling system of the core. No planned or emergency stoppages occurred during the month, but the safety system suffered three malfunctions, which did not affect the operating efficiency of any channel.

The gamma radiation background level at and in the vicinity of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant remained within the limits of the prescribed standard, gas and aerosol discharges into the atmosphere were within permissible limits, and the radioactivity of the discharged waters was lower than the prescribed value.

During March no individual dosages were received in excess of the limits established in the normative documents in force.

Dienstbier Recommends German Treaty to Assembly

LD2204154492 Prague CSTK in English 1418 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Prague April 22 (CSTK)—Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier today introduced Czechoslovakia's new treaty with Germany to parliament, saying it would "enable Czechoslovakia to attain full membership in the European Community (EC)." Czechoslovakia's Federal Assembly (parliament) today begins debate on the ratification of the treaty, signed by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel February 27 in Prague.

Dienstbier described the treaty as "key," adding that the two countries spent over one year negotiating it. "That in itself testifies to the fact that both parties were conscious of the importance of their task," he said. In response to the debate that erupted here over the use of the term "state borders" in the treaty's Czech-language version and "existing borders" in the German version, Dienstbier pointed out that both sides initialled and signed both versions of the document. More importantly, he said, the treaty's third article states that both countries confirm the current Czechoslovak-German borders and that neither side will raise any territorial claims against the other.

Another hot topic in public discussion of the treaty was the September 29, 1938 Munich conference, at which in an attempt to avert war, Great Britain, France, and Italy ceded the western provinces of Czechoslovakia to Germany. Dienstbier said the new treaty confirms the language from Czechoslovakia's previous treaty with the Federal Republic of Germany, signed in 1973, stating that the Munich agreement was null from the start. He said the concept was contained in Czechoslovakia's new treaties with France and Italy. It also says that the Czechoslovak state has not ceased to exist since its founding in 1918.

However, Dienstbier did not ignore problems in Czechoslovak-German history, pointing out that the length of the negotiations indicated that "even today, it is still not so easy to deal with the past."

"The history of the past half-century still affects our feelings," he said, recalling "Nazi Germany's destruction of Czechoslovakia with the substantial contribution of many Sudeten Germans, Munich, ... the expulsion of our population from the territory stolen (by Hitler), ... the concentration camps, (and) forced labour."

"And after that the victory, in which we expelled Germans from our country in reaction to the suffering endured, without judging the guilt of individuals, leading even to the murder and manhandling of innocent people, women and children." Because of this, Dienstbier stressed, it was important the treaty's preamble contain a commitment from both sides that never again would something similar be allowed to happen.

The treaty's use of the word "expulsion" to describe what the postwar Potsdam agreement called the "transfer" of Czechoslovakia's more than 2 million-strong German population out of the country is of moral importance and carries no legal consequences, he said. "We decided to live in freedom, and as long as we do not speak the truth about ourselves, we will not be free," Dienstbier added. It is remarkable, he noted, that the debate on the treaty has focused on just ten lines of text, while hardly anyone has noticed or debated the other 99 per cent of the document.

Treaty Ratified

LD2204201392 Prague CSTK in English 1948 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Prague April 22 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (Parliament) today ratified the Czechoslovak-German Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, signed by President Vaclav Havel and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl on February 27.

In the House of Nations the Treaty was approved by 74 of the 117 present deputies, and by 70 of the 109 present deputies in the House of the People.

According to information available to CSTK, the Treaty is to be ratified by the German Bundestag on May 20.

Havel on Hopes for 26 Apr Visit to ROK

SK2304051492 Seoul KBS-1 Television Network in Korean 1200 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Interview with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel by Cha Man-sun, Korean Broadcasting System reporter, in Prague; date not given; Havel speaks in Czech with Korean subtiles—recorded]

[Text] [Cha Man-sun] A new spring has come to Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, which is famous for the so-called Prague Spring, the symbol of freedom and openness in East Europe. The wind of freedom and openness, which began to blow again in this city in 1989, overthrew the 40 year-old Communist dictatorial regime, and, accordingly, Czechoslovakia is now smoothly advancing along the road of democratization. In addition, Czechoslovakia is also steadily moving toward the market economic system. It has been learned that the smooth democratization in Czechoslovakia and its smooth transfer to the market economic system was thanks to the democratic leadership of President Havel, the leader of the Forum of Citizens, who led the new spring of Prague in 1989. Since he was elected president of the country in July 1990, President Havel has sought practical diplomacy through the improvement of relations with Western countries. President Havel is to visit our country on 26 April.

Would you tell me about your planned visit to the ROK?

[Vaclav Havel] I want to directly witness the ROK's miraculous development and prosperity. I hope that my

visit to your country will become an important opportunity for vitalizing the advance of ROK enterprises into Czechoslovakia, increasing the number of joint ventures between enterprises of the two countries, and, thus, actively contributing to expanding exchanges between the two countries.

Carnogursky Calls for Compensation on Dam Project

LD2204214392 Prague CSTK in English 2000 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Bratislava April 22 (CSTK)—Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky today said Hungary ought to compensate for the damage caused to Czechoslovakia by its withdrawal from the construction of a Czechoslovak-Hungarian dam project on the Danube. He was speaking at a news conference after his inspection of the construction site at Gabcikovo (on Czechoslovak territory).

Unless Hungary compensates for the damage, Carnogursky said, Czechoslovakia will not supply energy from Gabcikovo to Hungary. Under the 1977 agreement on the construction of the controversial Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam project, each country was to be provided with 50 per cent of energy produced at Gabcikovo, Carnogursky said. The agreement also provides for compensation in case one side causes damage to the other, he added.

If the Hungarian Government stated conditions under which it is willing to cooperate with Czechoslovakia on putting Gabcikovo into operation, Czechoslovakia would be ready for cooperation as well, Carnogursky said. Construction of the hydroelectric project on the Danube started in 1978, and in 1989 Hungary withdrew from it for environmental reasons. Czechoslovakia favours completion of the project on its territory.

Free Trade Agreement With EFTA Approved

LD2204182292 Prague CSTK in English 2140 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] Prague April 21 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Parliament today approved an agreement on free trade between Czechoslovakia and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) which was signed March 20 and which takes effect July 1. At the parliament's current 22d session, Czechoslovak Transport Minister Jiri Nezval said the agreement provides for duty-free trade in industrial goods, processed agricultural goods, fish and sea products. In the second half of 1992, the agreement is expected to bring Czechoslovakia a direct profit of 600 million to 700 million crowns (20 million to 23 million USD).

The Federal Parliament also approved a convention on preventing acts violating the safety of overseas shipping, which was adopted in Rome in 1988 at a conference convened by the International Maritime Organisation (IMO). The parliament rejected a government proposal for the use of the 1991 federation budget's surplus worth 6,389 million crowns (over 212 million USD). 2,276 million crowns (over 75 million USD) were to partially cover the deficits of the 1991 Czech and Slovak republics' budgets.

The proposal was not passed in the Slovak part of the House of Nations where it was voted down mainly by representatives of Slovak opposition parties. The parliament presidium has yet to decide about further steps concerning debate on the use of the federation budget's surplus. The parliament failed to pass a bill on income tax, as well as a bill on investment companies and investment funds which aims at enhancing collective investment. The bill was supposed to provide for precise and strict rules for the activity of investment companies and funds and for the protection of investors.

Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus said about four to five million Czechoslovak citizens are estimated to use services of these companies in coupon privatisation whose first round is to start May 18.

Dlouhy Gives Views on Current Economic Issues

AU2204123892 Prague CSTK in English 1203 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] Prague April 21 (CSTK)— The road towards stimulating Czechoslovakia's economy leads via privatization, Czechoslovak Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy says in an interview, published in today's economic daily HOSPODARSKE NOVINY. Dlouhy is commenting on the fact that in 1991 the industrial output declined by 20 percent, incomes—with inflation taken into account—decreased by 17 percent, and unemployment rose to seven percent.

However, this has been counterbalanced by "the abolition of central planning, liberalization of prices and foreign trade, and introduction of the internal convertibility of the crown," says Dlouhy. Dlouhy, known as an advocate of Czechoslovakia's radical economic reforms, is a member of the right-wing intellectual "Civic Democratic Alliance" (ODA) leadership. He says "we will not be able to cope with unemployment if conditions for labor mobility do not improve." The basic condition is to create an apartment market and to pass relevant legislation, Dlouhy says.

"I am afraid only one third of the about 650,000 jobless (in Czechoslovakia) are unemployed by no choice of their own. That means two thirds are people who have never worked and now they got registered as unemployed, or people who do not actively seek a job," says Dlouhy. On Czechoslovakia's agricultural policy, Dlouhy says "our agriculture consumes 2.5 times more energy than Western European countries.... It has become very low-effective.... The state's agriculture policy must be based on the transformation of ownership relations (in rural areas)... and cuts in subsidies. In my view this is the only way for agriculture to survive," says Dlouhy. "The power and fuel industry will be privatized

in the second wave of privatization (to start in autumn) and in my opinion, state intervention will be necessary" in this area, Dlouhy notes.

According to Dlouhy, responsibility for the economic policy should be taken by "an economic center standing on three legs: a central bank as the administrator of property, the finance ministry as the budget administrator, and the economics ministry, for trade and for promoting an active state policy."

Asked whether the state should subsidize the arms industry conversion to civilian programs, Dlouhy says "either arms production will be stopped and then the state has to help (with subsidies), or the production will go on in which case the state should not spend further money on conversion." "If a factory wants to continue arms production, if it is authorized to export weapons, and if it claims its production is effective, then—if it opts for conversion—it can finance it from arms production profits," Dlouhy concludes.

Pithart Given List of StB 'Journalist-Agents'

AU2104185692 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 18 Apr 92 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Uncontrollable Screenings (?)"]

[Text] Prague—Federal Security and Information Service (FIS) Director Stefan Bacinsky yesterday handed Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart a list of 262 journalists registered as State Security [StB] agents. Czech Government Press Spokesman Vladimir Zelezny made this information public yesterday.

The list, which also includes pseudonyms, does not contain the names of confidants or candidates for secret collaboration, just the names of agents. Only those journalists who joined the Czech Syndicate of Journalists (this association had 4,863 members in February of this year) are involved. According to Zelezny, Prime Minister Pithart has decided to brief Czech Government members on the contents of this list. Zelezny refused to reply to a question on who requested the screenings and why only members of the Czech Syndicate of Journalists were involved.

Vladimir Bystrov, deputy chief syndic of the Czech Syndicate of Journalists, declared that he knows nothing about the syndicate's members being screened. "The Czech Syndicate of Journalists has not given the FIS a list of its members for screening purposes. A list of almost 5,000 members is stored in a computer, but has never been given to anyone," said Bystrov.

According to information given to CSTK by an unnamed senior Czech Government civil servant, constitutional officials have the right to ask the FIS for information. According to him, the list—unfortunately—only concerns those individuals who happened to join the Syndicate. He added that he knows "a number of positively screened people who did not join the Syndicate." As the unnamed civil servant also said, after he briefs ministers on the names of the 262 journalist-agents, the prime minister will bind them to an oath of silence. In reply to a question on what purpose the list will then serve the ministers, the civil servant said that "the ministers will at least know to whom they can grant an interview."

Ivan Masek, chairman of the Czech National Council Investigative Commission for Screenings Issues, confirmed that the Czech prime minister has the right to request the FIS to carry out specific tasks. "It is true there are rumors that a number of journalists collaborated with State Security. It is dangerous that a number of StB agents can influence public opinion; however, the Screenings Law does not concern journalistic functions other than the ones selected," stated Masek.

According to Borek Hanus, deputy chief editor of MLADA FRONTA DNES, the FIS director broke the law when he handed Petr Pithart the list of positively screened journalists. "Our editorial office has already been waiting four months for a reply to its written request for screenings, despite the fact that the law clearly stipulates a time limit of 60 days." Our daily's secretary, Zdenek Kucera, believes that only publishers and newspaper owners have the right to request screenings for their employees. "Petr Pithart's course of action would be warranted if the government owned its own daily," said Kucera. Our daily's editorial office requested "screenings" as early as January. The RUDE PRAVO editorial office condemned the hand over of StB agents' names to Petr Pithart and expressed its fear that the list could be used to blackmail journalists.

The so-called Screenings Law states that publishing information contained in the attestation or in the finding or publishing the finding itself—as well as any of the background material used for its preparation—is prohibited without the prior consent of the citizen.

Security Chief Justifies List

AU2304121292 Prague CSTK in English 0806 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Excerpt] Prague April 22 (CSTK)—Today's Czech daily LIDOVE NOVINY carries an interview with Stefan Bacinsky, director of the Federal Security and Information Service (FIS), on a report which he submitted Friday to Czech Premier Petr Pithart, listing 262 members of the Czech Journalists' Syndicate as former agents of the Secret Police (StB).

Responding to speculations and criticism from the media, Bacinsky says: "The duties of the secret service as they follow from the law on the FIS include obtaining, collecting, and analyzing information important for state security and the protection of our democratic system. ...we have gathered material proving that these people (former StB agents) are still leading journalists in many Czech and Slovak papers and misinforming the public through their articles. We know that they intentionally

distort facts... and seek to destabilize the current situation. This means they are working against the foundations of our state."

In a note attached to the interview, the paper says "the Czech premier's response (to the report) was unusual: he immediately publicized through CSTK his acceptance of the intelligence report.

In MLADA FRONTA DNES, Pithart says "(the report has) no connection at all with the Civic Movement" (OH), of which he is a top official and candidate for the June 5-6 elections. Pithart rejects speculations that the whole matter may be a pre-election trick by the OH, as other government and legislative leaders may have also received the report, but decided not to publicize its existence.

In an opinion, LIDOVE NOVINY writes that "the most startling about the whole affair is that a state institution is judging the quality of the mass media and the intentions of its workers, and on this basis is taking further steps. But it is up to the readers to decide whether a paper carries truthful information: They must be able to make the correct choice. They can be assisted in this by information about who the authors of articles are—for this purpose the parliament has already created the so-called screening law. It is true that it is not as effective as it should be, but then again the parliament is there to find a more effective method. One of the major principles of democracy is that the press supervises state institutions, not the other way round," the paper says. [passage omitted]

Meciar Heads Campaign; Denounces Journalist List

LD2204220192 Prague CSTK in English 1943 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Bratislava April 22 (CSTK)—Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Opposition Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) today said the Slovak Government coalition parties seek to win 40 per cent of votes in the June parliamentary elections and create conditions for the victorious movement to be excluded from forming a federal government.

"In order to prevent this, I have taken over as head of the HZDS election campaign leader", Meciar told a HZDS press conference.

Meciar replaces Jan Bajanek who gave up the post last week, saying that the HZDS leadership did not handle problems in a matter-of-fact manner but on an ideological basis. Meciar also said the presidium of the Slovak Parliament is unwilling to give guarantees that it will not adopt any legal steps against the opposition parliamentary parties before the June parliamentary elections.

Referring to a list of 262 Czech journalists, named as agents of the former STB Secret Police, which was handed by the Federal Security and Information Service (FBIS) to Czech Premier Petr Pithart last week, Meciar said this is a typical example of the abuse of powers by FBIS Director Stefan Bacinsky. He added that giving ideological labels to journalists shortly before the elections gives the matter a political character.

Meciar said that in case of his movement's election victory, "the HZDS will not respect the screening law, which is legally ineffective from January 1, 1992 as it runs counter to higher-level legal norms, in the practice of Slovak state and government bodies". The screening law, barring former paid Communist Party officials, people's militia members and STB agents from high posts, was passed by the Czechoslovak Parliament last October. Meciar's HZDS with a 30-per cent support is currently the most influential political force in Slovakia.

Havel Appoints State Bank Governor

LD2204201992 Prague CSTK in English 2030 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] Prague April 21 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today appointed Josef Tosovsky Governor of the State Bank of Czechoslovakia for a period of six years. Tosovsky told CSTK today this appointment is in accord with the law on the State Bank of Czechoslovakia, and has been in effect since February 1, 1992. Tosovsky said the bank aims at a stable Czechoslovak currency and at preserving the lowest possible inflation rate.

"Under the law (on the State Bank of Czechoslovakia), the Bank is directed by a bank council with the governor at the head", Tosovsky said. "The council is independent of executive power, and will make decisions on all major measures of monetary policies", he explained. The new governor's task in the nearest future will be to propose to Havel three vice-governors and their assistants. Since September 1990, Tosovsky has been a governor of the International Monetary Fund. He was president of the State Bank of Czechoslovakia from December 28, 1989 to January 31, 1992.

Spokesman Comments on Libya, NATO, Romania

LD2204155292 Budapest MTI in English 1326 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Budapest, April 22 (MTI)—The number of Hungarians to be expelled from the country's mission in Libya is still unspecified but is expected to be five, Foreign Affairs Spokesman Janos Herman said.

The staff at Libya's diplomatic representation here has also been reduced by five as a result of Hungary joining the UN Security Council's sanctions against Libya. There are four Hungarian diplomats at the country's mission in Libya. Since Libya's return measures will not necessarily affect staff of diplomatic status, Hungary's mission is expected to be able to continue its operation.

In another development, Herman said 100 Hungarian police and administration officials are to travel to Cambodia soon, to take part in an UN peace-keeping mission. The UN secretary general has officially requested Hungary to take part in the operation, Herman reported.

Talks on security policy issues and ties between Hungary and NATO are to be held by the NATO Committee for Political Affairs here between 24 and 28 April. The committee, headed by Acting Chairman John Kriendler, will hold talks with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, Defense State Secretary Antal Annus and titular State Secretary Jeno Laszlo, military industry office president.

A Hungarian-Romanian "open skies" committee is holding its first session in Bucharest on 22 and 23 April, Herman said. At the session, Hungary is to be represented by an 11-member foreign affairs and military delegation.

An "open skies" agreement, signed by the two countries last May and effective from February 1992, enables both sides to conduct two supervision flights in the other's airspace each year.

Issues of Hungarian-Romanian ties are to be discussed by Hungarian Foreign Affairs State Secretary Tamas Katona and his Romanian counterpart Teodor Melescanu here in May, Herman said.

Jeszenszky, Slovak Foreign Minister Hold Talks

Discuss Regional Cooperation

LD2304090992 Budapest MTI in English 1217 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Budapest, April 22 (MTI)—Regular consultations need to be held on bilateral relations, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky and his Slovak counterpart Pavol Demes agreed at talks today.

At the meeting, the first between the two countries' foreign ministers, the sides discussed regional issues, developments in Europe after the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States, relations with Yugoslavia's successor states and issues of Czechoslovak-Hungarian-Polish cooperation.

The ministers attached special importance to relations with the Ukraine and the opportunities for a Carpathian-Tisza cooperation, foreign affairs spokesman Janos Herman reported at his usual weekly briefing, held during a break in the talks.

Speaking about Hungarian-Slovak ties, the ministers mentioned the significance of border cooperation and envisaged the opening of new border stations.

The agenda of the foreign ministerial talks includes an analysis of the situation of Slovakia's Hungarian ethnic minority and that of the Slovak minority living in Hungary. The issue will also figure in Demes's talks with Geza Entz, prime minister's office state secretary and head of the Secretariat for Hungarians Beyond the Borders, and at a discussion with Janos Wolfart, national and ethnic minority office president later in the day.

At a Visegrad Triangle summit in Prague on 6 May, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland will explore the possibilities to further develop ties between the Visegrad Triangle and the EC, Herman said at the briefing. A meeting to prepare the summit is to be held in Prague on 5 May with the participation of foreign ministers from the three east-central European countries and members of the EC governing body, the foreign ministers of Britain, the Netherlands and Portugal. At the Visegrad Triangle summit, Hungary will be represented by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall.

View Reconciliation

LD2304092892 Budapest MTI in English 1746 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Budapest, April 22 (MTI)—"Hungarian-Slovak reconciliation is in the strategic interest of both Budapest and Bratislava. In a broader sense, it is in the interest of the entire central European region for the two countries to foster good relations, and to avoid the emergence of another tension spot in the heart of Europe," said Slovak Foreign Minister Pavol Demes and Geza Entz, leader of the prime minister's office Secretariat in Charge of Hungarians Living Beyond the Borders, at their talks in Budapest on Wednesday.

The Slovak foreign minister is currently on a one-day working visit to Budapest. Entz and Demes agreed that Hungary and Slovakia should also conclude their own "compromise" modelled after the historical reconciliation of major western nations, such as Germany and France. Politicians should concentrate on present and future problems, and leave the evaluation of common history to the historians, they said.

Budapest would also like Hungarians living in Slovakia to stay clear of Czechoslovakia's political debates, and not be used as aces—even in the heat of forthcoming elections. Hungary's anxiety that certain political forces could incite nationalistic emotions during preparations

to the general elections in Czechoslovakia was a consideration by Foreign Minister Demes. However, he termed it important that the election campaign not hinder the continuity of Hungarian-Slovak dialogue. The debates should be settled with arguments of reason rather than with emotions, he said.

With respect to the future of the minorities, Demes said the situation of Hungarians in Slovakia is on par with the European average. Demes asked whether the Hungarian Government had a different opinion in this matter. Entz replied it was not Budapest's task to qualify the future of Hungarians living in Slovakia, and Bratislava should ask those concerned in the matter whether they are satisfied or not. Because settling the situation of minorities is Czechoslovakia's internal responsibility, "all" that the Hungarian Government can do is to conclude agreements and contracts with its partners which guarantee the enforcement of human and minority rights. Entz mentioned the Hungarian-Ukrainian and the Hungarian-Croatian agreements as good examples of this.

Discussions were also held about the use of the mother language. Pavol Demes objected to the fact that Hungarians living in Slovakia do not speak Slovakian. On the other hand, Entz called attention to the fact that the use of the majority language cannot be forced upon people with legal measures, as for example language laws. A genuinely European solution would be for minorities living together in mixed areas to learn each other's language in the course of education.

Mutual economic interests will play a decisive role in the rapport between the two sides. This is why Hungary attaches major importance to the Hungarian-Austrian-Slovak entrepreneurial conference to be held in Mosonmagyarovar (W [western] Hungary) on April 28. This event is hoped to promote developing the possibilities inherent in economic cooperation. Slovak Foreign Minister Pavol Demes was also invited to the event. At the close of his visit, Demes met Janos Wolfart, chairman of the office for national and ethnic minorities.

Jeszenszky on Relations with Serbia

LD2204171792 Budapest MTI in English 1626 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Budapest, April 22 (MTI)—Hungarian foreign policy invariably acknowledges that it wishes to maintain correct inter-state relations with Serbia, the Serbian people, and the prevailing Serbian government factions, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said on Wednesday. At the same time, Budapest calls on Belgrade to give up its policy of slander—a policy which has also been qualified according to its "merits" by international political factors, he added. The foreign minister made his remarks at a press conference held following talks with Slovak Foreign Minister Pavol Demes.

Talks on 'Grand Government Coalition' Break Down

LD2204142992 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1400 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] There will be no grand government coalition. After a six-hour meeting, representatives of seven parties supporting the present government and the so-called small coalition—that is the Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Congress, and the Polish Economic Program—announced that the participants in the talks could not reach an agreement on forming a grand government coalition. During the news conferences that are to be held later today the parties are going to present their positions.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that there were no conditions at present for forming a great coalition and reconstructing the government in such a way as suggested at the outset. The Democratic Union leader also expressed hope that hostile relations between the parties were not going to return, and that maybe a time would come when they could cooperate.

Principals Comment

LD2204210292 Warsaw PAP in English 1955 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Warsaw, April 22—Prime Minister Jan Olszewski on Wednesday deplored the fact that the "small coalition" of three parties walked out of negotiations on forming a grand coalition and reconstructing the government. Commenting on the 5-hour meeting of ten parties Olszewski expressed hope that the incident "would not affect mutual relations of political groupings which took part in the negotiations."

He referred to the "small coalition" of the Democratic Union (UD,) the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD) and the Polish Economic Programme (PPG.)

Speaking at a news conference Olszewski said that he had informed the negotiators that the question of nominations to three ministerial posts that are within the competence of the president can be limited to an exchange of opinions only. The issues are complicated by the case of Defence Minister Jan Parys, Olszewski said.

Olszewski also drew attention to the fact that the cabinet must be able to continue its work, especially in those ministries which undertook pro-reform programmes. He admitted that the negotiating parties demanded that ministerial posts should be distributed among the parties concerned in proportion to the number of seats they have in the parliament. But some ministers with no party affiliation cannot be eliminated from the government for that reason alone, the prime minister remarked.

A total reshuffle "would mean breaking the continuity of this government's work, which no government, above all no prime minister could afford," Olszewski said. The prime minister proposed certain solutions concerning the presidium of the government. In his opinion the government should have only two vice premiers or three at the utmost. He declined to say whether he would like to include the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) in the coalition. "I will strive to secure sufficient parliamentary support for the budget and matters of importance to the government, Olszewski declared.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, leader of the Democratic Union (UD) said upon walking out of the negotiations earlier in the day that there are no conditions at the moment for the creation of a "grand coalition" and the reconstruction of the government in a way that has been proposed at the start of negotiations. However, Mazowiecki expressed hope that no grudges would re-emerge between the political parties involved in negotiations and that they would start cooperating with one another some time in the future.

Commenting on the failure of the four-week long negotiations leader of the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD) Donald Tusk said that the negotiating parties were increasingly aware of the fact that it would be very difficult to create an efficient cabinet whose members would be able to cooperate harmoniously.

Nevertheless, the negotiations made sense, Tusk opined and stressed that there were no hostile or angry notes in the discussions and a majority of negotiators underlined in private that they hoped for a close cooperation with one another in the future.

However, Tomasz Bankowski of the Polish Economic Programme (PPG) opined that there were too many limitations that hampered the attainment of an accord on further actions.

Meanwhile, KPN leader Leszek Moczulski did not rule out the possibility of staging new parliamentary election in Poland this year. He said he pointed out to this during his meeting with the prime minister. Moczulski claims that if it comes to new elections, his party would be "the only political force within the dissatisfied sections of society, capable of winning the battle against social-democracy."

Olszewski Blamed

LD2204210892 Warsaw PAP in English 2013 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Warsaw, April 22—Leaders of the three small coalition parties Tadeusz Mazowiecki (Democratic Union, UD), Donald Tusk (Liberal-Democratic Congress, KLD), and Tomasz Bankowski (Polish Economic Programme, PPG) blamed Prime Minister Jan Olszewski for the failure to build a grand coalition when they met with journalists at a press conference in Warsaw on Wednesday afternoon.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki said plainly that the main reason for the termination of talks had been "the prime minister's negligence to respect the principle that all ministerial posts, political as well as economic, are negotiable at a time when the cabinet is being re-constructed."

Donald Tusk in turn blamed the prime minister for "lack of initiative and clear decision in both, the coalition question and in many minor questions as well." He added that after six weeks of talks one could hardly say whether the prime minister was really determined to have his cabinet reconstructed.

Government Official Comments

LD2204165192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1410 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] [Announcer] We have contacted Mr. Zbigniew Rykowski, director of the Government Press Bureau, on the telephone. First of all, good day, director.

[Rykowski] Good day, ladies and gentlemen.

[Announcer] Can one say that what has happened today in the Office of the Council of Ministers is a kind of earthquake, and if so—the Richter scale has 10 degrees: How many does it register?

[Rykowski] I think that in politics, it often happens that one set of talks ends and another set begins. The state of affairs that can be observed at the moment is this: Certain participants in the talks being held on broadening the coalition decided to leave those talks.

[Announcer] Director, what is the meaning of the statement, "There will be no grand coalition?"

[Rykowski] It means that the representatives of the Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Congress, and the Polish Economic Program have recognized that the conditions are not there for them to continue the talks on broadening the government coalition.

[Announcer] Are the reasons for this decision known? What caused the talks to be broken off?

[Rykowski] Today, Premier Jan Olszewski put forward his proposal for restructuring the government. He put forward the conditions that he thought must be met.

[Announcer] To put it briefly, restructuring means the division of portfolios. Which portfolios were the most...

[Rykowski] Well...

[Announcer] The two sides could not agree. Which ministries were the focus of this disagreement?

[Rykowski] Premier Olszewski's proposal was as follows: In order to... [changes thought] that is to say, putting forward the proposal, he pointed out that, as regards those ministerial posts that are allocated in agreement with the president, the talks that were held today could not decide on this issue without consulting the president. These ministries are, as you will recall, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of National Defense, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In Premier Olszewski's opinion, the ministries headed by non-party ministers—those ministers who are carrying out reforms in their ministries, in their departments—should not be restructured. Premier Jan Olszewski thinks that these reforms should be continued and, therefore, no changes in these posts should be considered where these reforms are far advanced and there is hope that they will end in good solutions.

[Announcer] Director, there will be no grand coalition. The Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Congress, and the Polish Economic Program have resigned. What about the Confederation for an Independent Poland?

[Rykowski] Premier Olszewski answered this question publicly today and upheld his previous declaration on his readiness to hold talks with all democratic, pro-reform groups.

[Announcer] Director, in view of this result of the talks, before the debate in the Sejm, before the budget debate, is there now any weeping and gnashing of teeth in the Council of Ministers?

[Rykowski] Indeed, the aim of this government and of Premier Jan Olszewski, who heads it, is to get the budget through. The premier stated in a press statement [words indistinct] meeting of the Council of Ministers, which is in progress at the moment, that he would try to get sufficient support for the budget, for getting issues through the Sejm that are important for the government.

[Announcer] You know, sir, in this case the difference between trying something and getting it is probably rather large. No one knows if it will succeed.

[Rykowski] Yes, but these talks are not talks for the sake of talks; they are aimed at implementing a certain program that the government has adopted, and of getting issues through that the government thinks (?correct). In any case, tomorrow, in the Sejm, the issue of the rulings by the Constitutional Tribunal regarding the act on remuneration in the budget sphere and the pensions act comes up.

[Announcer] Will this be a kind of test?

[Rykowski] Yes. Premier Jan Olszewski, as he said [words indistinct] on behalf of the government, he declared that the government thinks that no government is capable of implementing these rulings by the Constitutional Tribunal [words indistinct]; and he will raise this position in the Sejm tomorrow.

[Announcer] Director, to conclude, let's go back [words indistinct] to the Confederation for an Independent Poland. Did Mr. Leszek Moczulski name the price for his entering the coalition?

[Rykowski] I don't know what Mr. Moczulski has said. I think you ought to ask him about that, about his position on this matter.

[Announcer] Thank you very much for these explanations.

Skubiszewski on Russian Troop Withdrawal Issue

LD2204184292 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski met journalists before his departure for France tomorrow. Krystyna Koziol reports from his press conference.

[Koziol] The head of our diplomatic service began by saying that this conference concerned the meeting on the Paris-Bonn-Warsaw line, which will take place the day after tomorrow in the south of France and will be about building European cooperation and removing threats from our continent. But I am very willing to answer other questions as well, the minister added.

The majority of questions put by journalists concerned the issue of the withdrawal of troops of the former Soviet Union from our country and the recent articles on the subject in the Polish newspaper NOWY SWIAT and the Russian KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. NOWY SWIAT sharply attacked the draft treaty on troop withdrawal as very unfavorable to Poland; and in the Russian newspaper, General Pavel Grachev, who was recently in Warsaw for the negotiations, cited specific sums—such as $100 million—that we are supposed to receive for ecological damage done to us.

Minister Skubiszewski said that everything in the NOWY SWIAT article was untrue from beginning to end. When I asked him what he thought of the sums mentioned by General Grachev, the minister said:

[Begin Skubiszewski recording] None of this is in the draft; however, during the negotiations, very different sums were mentioned. The sum expressed in zlotys for ecological damage still needs to be determined, hence our strenuous efforts toward getting access for Polish inspectors concerned with environmental protection to the equipment and installations and bases of those troops, [words indistinct], to ascertain the actual state of affairs. [end recording]

[Koziol] The date of President Walesa's visit to Russia will be fixed later, the minister added. During the visit, the Polish-Russian treaty, which is nearly ready now, and a protocol on the withdrawal of troops are scheduled to be signed.

Former Aides Criticize Walesa

LD2204164292 Warsaw PAP in English 1558 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Warsaw, April 22—Wednesday's GAZETA WYBORCZA newspaper carries a 6-page collection of opinions on President Lech Walesa, his political qualifications and goals, style of work in office, approach to collaborators, etc. The opinions, unusually critical (except for one interviewee), were collected by an ex-aide to Walesa from people who once formed the circle of his closest associates.

Asked to comment on the article, Presidential Press Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said: "After reading this article, the president is convinced that he did well getting rid of people of small calibre."

Jaroslaw Kaczynski, former head of the Presidential Chancellery, told GAZETA that "when he became president, Walesa had a chance to lead the process of transformations in Poland. Instead, he began playing unclear games aimed at strengthening his own influence and conserving the old Communist arrangement, in the Army, among other places."

"Today my view of the president's performance is extremely critical. I expected it would not be the best possible, but I did not think it would prove so dismal. I failed to take Wachowski into account," Kaczynski added.

Krzysztof Wyszkowski, a member of Walesa's campaign staff in the presidential elections in 1990, charged that "the president strengthens old, Communist order in the Armed Forces, and thus betrays his own calling." He also charged Walesa with "a consistent activity aimed at disorganizing and destroying political life (in Poland). Gestures towards the Communists and the OPZZ (Trade Unions allied with former Communist Party) are historic, but in the sense of a departure from the fundamental values."

Kaczynski also said that "Walesa created a centre of power which, however, is not capable of governing the country. Although his actions at present do not lead to a catastrophe, nevertheless they do harm the prestige of the presidency, result in confusion and hit out at democracy. Today his weak points come to the fore: Lack of education and general knowledge. The president has become a destructive factor (in Polish politics)."

"The determination, with which Walesa acts to disintegrate the political scene stems from his fundamental lack of understanding what a state is," Wyszkowski added. "Walesa lacks elementary knowledge what a state is and how it functions," echoed a high-ranking official at the Presidential Chancellery who spoke on condition of anonymity. "Newspapers keep writing about the crisis of the presidency, but I can hardly see one," countered the only interviewee supporting Walesa, his current minister of state for national security Jerzy Milewski. "My assessment of the presidency is good, though this is only its beginning. In my opinion Walesa meets the requirements put before a president. I am convinced that he is the best possible president of Poland in the transition period from Communism to democracy."

Arkadiusz Rybicki, former secretary to Walesa and then his political adviser and undersecretary of state in the Chancellery, said "Walesa got rid of people who had political weight and posed difficult questions concerning some of his decisions. Walesa has surrounded himself with yes-men. It is easy for him to say that nobody understands his plans and the elites have failed. He forgets that it is him who is the top of the elites."

Rybicki maintained that Walesa "is isolated" and "lonesome," to which Milewski replied that "Walesa's contacts with people, with the outside world are lively and intensive." According to Wyszkowski, Walesa's actions are "autistic," while Kaczynski thinks that Walesa "suffers from a pathological case of self-love."

According to Jacek Merkel, chief of Walesa's campaign staff in the presidential elections and then for several months a key official of his Chancellery, "Walesa is incapable of any planned action, which is a must when running state affairs. The president should be a strategist, and Walesa's strategy boils down to short-term tactical games."

Lech Kaczynski, deputy to Walesa as the Solidarity chairman and later a key minister in the Chancellery, stressed what he saw as an ominous role played by Mieczyslaw Wachowski, the man closest to Walesa for some time now. "Wachowski is influential, and his role in the state is great. He is also dangerous and you can expect anything of him. His presence in the Belvedere (Walesa's official residence) is an insult to the state."

Milewski saw things differently: "I do not know what is meant by pathological relations created by Minister Wachowski. I do not see such pathological relations."

Discussions on 'Small Constitution' Continue

AU2204173292 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Apr 92 p 1

[Jerzy Pilczynski report: "In Case the Country Breaks Down"]

[Text] By 1 May, the president and government should submit to the Sejm their opinions concerning the draft constitutional provisions on mutual relations between the legislature and the executive, the so-called Small Constitution, said Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the extraordinary commission dealing with this legal instrument, at a meeting of that commission on 14 April. Also by this date, the parliamentary factions should make their own opinions on this subject known.

Mazowiecki told me about the meeting between the presidium of this commission and the president earlier in the day. The president had displayed a great deal of interest in the progress of this document and had urged an acceleration of the work on it. The president had said that the constitution must define the powers of individual authorities more clearly to avoid a repetition of the kind of disputes and conflicts that surround Defense Minister Parys. The president also mentioned the need for regulations permitting a "way out during a crisis situation or breakdown in the state." The commission decided that a representative of the Presidential Chancellery would attend every commission meeting in future.

The government will also present its opinions about the draft constitutional provisions, but not until the Council of Ministers has approved these opinions at its next meeting. Tadeusz Mazowiecki conveyed this information to Prime Minister Olszewski by telephone.

During the 14 April meeting, Deputy Ryszard Bugaj (Labor Party) called for postponement of work on the Small Constitution because the work on the budget will continue into May.

Other deputies also failed to display excessive zeal in the Small Constitution, a sign of which was the lack of a quorum in the meeting. This prompted Deputy Janusz Korwin-Mikke (Union of Real Politics) to suggest a secret vote on whether or not the Commission should continue its work on the document. He claimed that some of the Commission's members only joined it to torpedo the Small Constitution altogether. The same thing happened when the Commission worked on the presidential draft of the Small Constitution, said Deputy Korwin-Mikke.

The rest of the Commission meeting was general in nature and concerned the scope of the Commission's work. Stanislaw Krukowski, undersecretary of state in the Office of the Council of Ministers, said the government wants the Small Constitution to include all constitutional topics, which would permit the total scrapping of the 1952 Constitution. Deputy Pawel Laczkowski (Christian-Democratic Party) suggested that the Small Constitution include local government matters and the appointment of four action teams to deal with the Small Constitution's four subject areas, i.e. the executive, the legislature, the judiciary, and local government.

Article 1 of the draft document, discussing the method of dividing authority among the state bodies, created a stir. The authors were accused of being inconsistent because this article gives some legislative power to the executive. In defense of the article, Deputy Jerzy Ciemniewski (Parliamentary Faction of the Democratic Union) said that the purpose of Article 1 was to break the Sejm's constitutional supremacy provided by Article 20 of the 1952 Constitution. In that case, said Deputy Jaskiernia, one should remove Article 2 of the Constitution, which says that the people enjoy supremacy exercised solely via their representative institutions. The commission decided to withhold a final decision for the time being.

Nastase Discusses Relations With Hungary

AU2204173492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1442 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/4/1992—Asked by daily AZI whether there was any connection between the conflict in the Dniester region and the claims on Transylvania, Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase said: "There is no connection whatsoever. Maybe there are people who try to link the two, but in my opinion there are no reasons for this. However, it is true that wolves always attack a wounded prey. So, without referring to any specific question, I would like to say that we must avoid taking such domestic and foreign action that can make us vulnerable. Predators are always drawn by the smell of blood."

On the state of the Romanian-Hungarian treaty, the Romanian minister said: "The situation is this: There was a first round of talks and another one is due in Bucharest. Certain provisions were accepted, others are to be resumed at the next round. True, two questions are outstanding: The wording of a provision concerning territorial claims and the minority issue, that is their rights. We are waiting for the Hungarian delegation to come to Bucharest to continue our talks, and it is our view that this could improve the bilateral relations. If relations between Romania and Hungary are not good right now, this is not because of us."

Asked whether Romania could make concessions, if the Hungarian side maintained its positions, Adrian Nastase said: "We cannot make concessions on a provision which spells out the essential thing that may prove or disprove—to us and to public opinion in Romania—the Hungarian foreign policy's orientation as far as our country is concerned. In my opinion, the provisions should very clearly state that there are no territorial claims which Hungary or Romania have on each other, now or in future. Only such a provision—which would translate in legal terms what we may hear from Hungarian Government officials now and then—would remove that psychological obstacle that makes us sometimes think there is long-term strategy of certain political forces in Hungary, or of the Hungarian lobby abroad, which might affect Romania's territorial integrity, or interests.

Commission To Implement 'Open Skies' Accord

AU2204174492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1601 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/4/1992—The first session of the Romanian-Hungarian Consultative Commission, set up under the bilateral accord on an "open skies" regime, is taking place in Bucharest. The commission is to adopt practical measures on ensuring the application of the accord, and to survey the fulfillment of the obligations assumed by the two sides.

During this first session, the commission is to endorse the rules of procedure, exchange information and technical data, and analyze tangible measures concerning the carrying into effect of the accord. The Romanian representative to the commission is Marin Buhoara, director in the Foreign Ministry, and the Hungarian representative is Gabor Brodi, director in the Foreign Ministry of Hungary. The two representatives are assisted by deputies and experts of the ministries of foreign affairs and defense of Romania and Hungary.

Nastase Meets Black Sea Convention Delegates

AU2204124592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1130 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/4/1992—The Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Adrian Nastase, received Wednesday, April 22, the heads of the delegations of the states having attended the conference for the signing of the convention for the Black Sea protection. Present were representatives of the signatory states and observers for international bodies.

The Romanian foreign minister showed that the conference offered a good opportunity for the cooperation between the states in the area, that it was time that efforts were put together to mark a progress. The head of the Romanian diplomacy mentioned that the convention, its resolution and final documents represented an important stage for all the countries in this geographic area, a good example of cooperation in a region marked by numerous crises.

Bulgarian Embassy Official on Trade Prospects

AU2204182492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1450 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 21/4/1992—"In 1991 bilateral commercial exchanges between Bulgaria and Romania dropped considerably, in comparison with previous years, standing at roughly 70 million dollars," says Volodya Statkov [spelling as received], who is in charge of economic and commercial affairs at the embassy of the Republic of Bulgaria in Bucharest, in the business newspaper BURSA [Stock Exchange]. He thinks that this unsatisfactory volume is a result of the action of factors, such as the passage to mutual payments in hard currency, the changes in the legislative base of economies of the two countries, their difficult economic situation, and the change in banking activities.

Showing that the structure of bilateral commercial flows changed, Mr. Statkov notes a certain degree of stagnation in the demand for products of the machine-building industry (which, in previous years, were basic elements of the exchange of commodities between the two countries). However, he said, Bulgaria is interested in products of the car industry, in locomotives, metal cutting machines, equipments in electric technology, installations for oil exploitation, as well as in advantageous

exchanges in the area of ferrous and non-ferrous metals, the chemical, and food industries.

The Bulgarian diplomat considers that on the basis of the experience acquired so far, Romania and Bulgaria can cooperate successfully in carrying through joint projects and in selling products on third markets. "I think the rebirth will be beneficial of a form of cooperation that has been forgotten in the last three years, namely cooperation between the machine-building plant in Ruse, Bulgaria, which produces equipment for the mining and metallurgical industries, ship engines, petrochemical equipment, and the similar factory in Giurgiu, Romania, which manufactures equipment for geological prospecting, the chemical, and petrochemical industries. In conditions of a closer cooperation, the production of those two enterprises could become more competitive, both on domestic and on foreign markets."

Speaking about the future of the economic and commercial ties between the two countries, Mr. Statkov considers that it will greatly depend on the encouraging role of economic laws in the two countries, and refers to a decision which was recently adopted by the Romanian government whereby transactions with Bulgaria are carried through on a barter basis.

With a view to clearing bilateral cooperation avenues, the Bulgarian diplomat suggests the creation of a joint Romanian-Bulgarian chamber of trade, the signing of accords stipulating mutual guarantee of investment and the avoidance of double taxation, the foundation of a Romanian-Bulgarian commercial bank to facilitate import-export operations, and the resumption of the activities of the Joint Commission of Economic Cooperation.

Iliescu on Relations with EEC, France

PM2104141492 Paris LE FIGARO in French 16 Apr 92 supplement pX

[Interview with Romanian President Ion Iliescu by Daniel Tacet in Athens; date not given]

[Text] [Tacet] How do you view the reservations of the international financial community and more especially of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] toward Romania?

[Iliescu] We hope that the European bank will help us on the same basis as the forty countries which are members of it. I initialed the agreement setting up this body in which we are represented on the same basis as the other countries. But I know that the EBRD does not yet have many opportunities and we must give it time to organize and grow stronger. But we will do things together. Jacques Attali came to Bucharest two weeks ago to discuss some common problems.

[Tacet] What are the priorities?

[Iliescu] All sectors are concerned: the drafting of new legislation, and the training of cadres, but we are also interested in more immediate and more specific plans.

[Tacet] Do you not feel rather frustrated compared with other Central European countries which are receiving help from the bank?

[Iliescu] We are used to international reservations regarding the Romanian problem, not just the EBRD's reservations. They are understandable: Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary are more advanced than us in the transition to a market economy but those countries started this process earlier than us.

There is another reason for this wait-and-see attitude which the financiers themselves admit: We have very few debts and that is never an advantage for bankers.... So perhaps we will have to acquire debts in order to interest them? We have sought $1 billion in credit which we have not obtained.

[Tacet] The economic press—particularly the English-speaking press—accuses you of doing nothing in the sphere of economic reforms. What is your reply?

[Iliescu] This does not reflect the real situation, but once again, our approach is different from that of our East European neighbors. We preferred to provide ourselves with a new Constitution and adequate financial tools to complete our reforms, in other words a gradual rather than a sudden transition to a market economy. Events in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and even the former GDR have so far proved us right. With regard to the eastern part of Germany, despite large-scale support from Bonn, the social cost of unification is enormous because an outright gift of $70 billion will not be enough to bring the former Moscow satellite to the right level. If we could benefit from such generosity, we would be obliged to repay it, and that would be impossible.

We have chosen an approach suited to our own political and economic situation. Initally, we appealed to neutral international experts to evaluate the country's real potential before drawing up a comprehensive strategy. But we know that the market is the only alternative. It is not just an ideological question, but a practical one. We hope to be able to establish a consensus on this point immediately after next summer's elections.

[Tacet] How long do you think you should wait before joining the EC?

[Iliescu] We know that access to the developed countries' club will be slow, but we obviously hope to be able to join the economic and monetary union one day. On the other hand, we do not like the EEC's criticisms when it tries to give us lessons in free market economics, especially with regard to the state monopoly in our foreign trade.

Everybody protects himself however he can, and the EEC is not in a good position to condemn protectionist policies. You just have to look at what is happening in the GATT. While waiting to be able to join the Community, we are

trying to create a free trade community among the Black Sea countries. These are nations which generally have the same level of development and our concerns are identical. In the international sphere, this integrated zone of southeast Europe could play an important role in what constitutes the most important problem as this century draws to an end—North-South relations.

[tacet] Immediately after the December 1989 revolution, France expressed fine intentions toward Romania. How do you assess the development of economic relations between the two countries?

[Iliescu] We are on the right track. The framework of cooperation is excellent. France's attitude strikes me as very positive and the participation of French companies in Romania is increasing considerably. Just a short time ago, France held sixth position in direct investments or joint ventures, and it now holds first place. Not a day passes without us receiving delegations of experts, from both the agricultural and industrial sector. The French are particularly active in electronics, aeronautics, the automobile industry, and petrochemicals. We have also signed major technological cooperation agreements. On the whole, we are very satisfied with France's attitude toward us and it is still our main advocate in international bodies.

Involvement in Communist Sentencing Denied

AU2204191292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1817 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/4/1992—In connection with the rumors circulated by certain Romanian publications concerning the direct or indirect involvement of the presidency in the case brought against the former Politburo of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], a statement of the Press Office of the presidency shows that "the interference of the president of the country with the trial and the sentences is out of the question". "The constitution of Romania consecrated once and for ever the principles of the state of law and the separation of powers, clearly distinguishing between their attributions and competence, including those of the Presidency and the Judiciary. Judges are fully independent and only obey the laws in the administration of justice", the statement says. "Therefore, the allegations in the press that President Ion Iliescu would have influenced first the acquittal and then the conviction are groundless", the statement ends.

Party Protests Court Ruling on RCP Leaders

AU2204174092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1526 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/4/1992—The steering committe of the Socialist Party of Labor [the president of which is former RCP politburo member Ilie Verdet], protests the Higher Court of Justice's verdict passed on 20 April on former RCP leaders, and appeals to the President of Romania to exercise his right of pardon, a press release says. We remind that the former Communist Party's politburo members were given between 8 and 16 year prison terms.

Carrington, Pinheiro Arrive at Sarajevo Airport

LD2304092692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Report by correspondent Slavko Rako from Sarajevo]

[Text] At 1040 [0840 GMT], the plane carrying Lord Peter Carrington and Mr. Pinheiro, the Portugese foreign minister and EC president, landed at the Sarajevo airport. As we have learned, talks with the president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Alija Izetbegovic, are under way.

At 1120, the protocol envisages talks with the chairman of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS], Radovan Karadzic, and at 1215 with a member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, (Franjo Boras).

The EC representative and Lord Carrington decided to hold talks in the Sarajevo airport building for security reasons, although that raises the question of what that means, when everybody knows that Bosnia-Hercegovina is a sovereign and recognized state which has its Presidency and other bodies in the town of Sarajevo. It is supposed that after these talks the EC representatives will also hold talks with the commander of the second military district, General Kukanjac.

Izetbegovic's Political Intentions Profiled

LD2204211192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1002 GMT 22 Apr 92

[By Predrag Ilic]

[Text] Belgrade, April 22 (TANJUG)—A group of Moslem intellectuals from Sarajevo and other cities in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina (BIH) went on trial in the summer of 1983 on charges of taking part in Moslem nationalist activities. The most prominent among the defendants was current Bosnia-Hercegovina President Alija Izetbegovic, a lawyer and Islamic theoretician. As the author of a text entitled *Islamic Declaration* Izetbegovic and five others were charged with conspiracy against the country's constitutional order, and the others with hostile propoganda.

The badly prepared and conducted trial, which was marked by a number of illegal and impermissible acts made both during the investigation and the process itself, ended in a confirmation of the charges and terms of imprisonment ranging from five to 15 years. As the prosecution failed to prove the main charge of the formation of a hostile group, the Republican Supreme Court passed more lenient sentences, but in 1985 the Federal Supreme Court altered the charges to a verbal political offence and considerably reduced the sentences (from two years and eight months to nine years) [as received].

The *Islamic Declaration* focuses on the problems of the so-called Islamic world. It was written by Izetbegovic between 1966 and 1970 with segments published in Yugoslavia and the entire text abroad in several languages.

Analysing the problems of the Islamic world and the ways for overcoming them, Izetbegovic calls for the establishment of a real Islamic order based on the Koran and pan-Islamism. This order, he says, can be achieved through an Islamic revolution.

"The Islamic revival cannot begin without a religious revolution, and it cannot be successfully continued and completed without a political revolution," Izetbegovic says, underscoring the importance of choosing the right moment for the revolution. Izetbegovic also writes about the unity of religion and politics within the Islamic order and says that Islam and non-Islamic systems and ideologies are irreconcilable.

Rejecting charges that the objective of the *Islamic Declaration* was to serve as an ideological basis for hostile activities against Yugoslavia's constitutional order, Izetbegovic insisted that "the declaration does not mention Yugoslavia either directly or indirectly." It even explicitly excludes it, he said, because one of its basic postulates is that "the Islamic order can be established only in countries with a majority Moslem population."

Even then, many believed that Izetbegovic was not referring to the entire Yugoslavia, but only to Bosnia-Hercegovina in which Moslems make up about 40 percent of the population, and Islam is the most widespread religion.

In 1946, Izetbegovic was sentenced to three years in jail for belonging to the illegal organization calling itself 'Young Moslems' which advocated an autonomous Moslem Bosnia.

In view of increasingly evident tendencies of (Orthodox) Serbs and (Catholic) Croats migrating out of Bosnia, the immigration into Bosnia of Moslems from other republics and due to the traditionally high Moslem birthrate, it was clear already then that Moslems would soon become dominant in the republic (over 50 percent of its population) and the **Islamic Declaration** would automatically become applicable there.

Meanwhile, Izetbegovic completed his (reduced) sentence and swiftly and successfully found a place for himself in the new political pluralism in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia. Skillfully combining elements of Islam, Moslem nationalism and anti-Communism, he created the Party of Democratic Action (SDA), won the trust of most Moslems and was voted to power in Bosnia-Hercegovina. He declared himself in favour of ethnic and religious equality and tolerance and a Western-style democracy. From an initial overt advocation of the preservation of a Bosnia-Hercegovina within a federative Yugoslavia, Izetbegovic made a rapid shift first towards the 'soft' and 'hard' confederal options

for Yugoslavia, and finally to an uncompromising commitment to an independent, sovereign and civic Bosnia-Hercegovina outside any kind of Yugoslavia.

Izetbegovic's statements created for him in Europe and the world an image of a clever, educated and capable politician with an anti-Communist, democratic and pro-European orientation, a politician who deserves respect and all-out political support and aid. Until very recently he never advocated anything but peace, negotiation and democracy. But Europe would do well to look very carefully at Izetbegovic's ostensible democratic and pro-European orientation.

Examples of Izetbegovic-style democracy and tolerance abound with disregard of agreements concluded with representatives of the Serb and Croat peoples—even those reached with the E.C.'s mediation—violations of the constitution of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which was initiated and enacted by his own party in cooperation with the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] and the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], discrimination against the Serbs and in favour of Moslems and Croats, unfounded attacks on the Serbs and the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), open incitement of terrorism and a civil war.

As regards Islam and its politization, Europe and all others who offer support to it should be reminded of the following:

1. The programme and practical activities of the organization 'Young Moslems,' of which Izetbegovic was once a member, contained numerous elements of Islamic fundamentalism and pan-Islamism. The organization advocated an autonomous and Islamic Bosnia that would be part of 'Islamabad,' a world Islamic state, whose creation it expected of the Nazi-Fascist 'New Order.' One wing of the organization employed terrorism as a method in its political struggle. 'Young Moslems' has now been rehabilitated in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

2. To our knowledge, Alija Izetbegovic has never renounced his *Islamic declaration.* Quite the opposite. The declaration focuses on the thesis that pan-Islamism is an inseparable component of Islam and truly Islamic communities, i.e. orders.

3. Izetbegovic confirmed his pan-Islamic orientation in an interview to PREPOROD (REVIVAL), a magazine published by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Islamic community. Recalling 'a vision of a future united and powerful Islamic world' he had outlined some ten years previously, Izetbegovic proudly said he still believed in that vision and its materialization. This is quite obvious from his numerous visits to Islamic countries before and after he became Bosnia-Hercegovina leader, as well as from his frequent appeals to these countries to help Bosnia-Hercegovina become an independent state and separate itself from Yugoslavia.

4. Izetbegovic at one time categorically claimed that his *Islamic Declaration* has nothing to do with Yugoslavia. However, when the statements contained in the declaration are compared with his real policy and the latest developments in Bosnia-Hercegovina, everything becomes more clear. Putting the entire blame for the civil war on Serbs (and the JNA, which is labelled as a Serbian Army), encouraging terror against Serbs and forcing them to leave Bosnia-Hercegovina are evidently aimed at transforming Bosnia-Hercegovina into a country with an Islamic majority (over 50 per cent of the overall population). If this happens, all the necessary conditions will be fulfilled for implementing the *Islamic declaration*, Islamic order and pan-Islamic policy in the heart of the Balkans and democratic and Christian Europe.

Karadzic Not 'Against' U.S. Intervention

AU2204221192 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, head of Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Dusko Petrovic; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Petrovic] First, good evening Mr. Karadzic, if this is a good evening at all.

[Karadzic] Good evening, although for numerous Sarajevo residents and citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina good evening and good day have long become the things of the past, and nobody knows when the new reality will start.

At the moment the situation in Ilizda is peaceful. The Green Berets, the Red Berets, who are probably [Niaz] Durakovic's [head of the Socialist Democratic party of Bosnia-Hercegovina] followers, the Patriotic League, and even some Black Berets that we assume are of Croatian origin, are concentrated in several locations. They are primarily attacking the former School of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, that is to say, the present headquarters of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs. They are surrounding the settlement of (?Nezavice) and attacking in the direction of Latisnica and Pale. They are shooting with heavy arms.

[Petrovic] News has been arriving primarily from Sarajevo Television today that the White Eagles and Seselj's and Arkan's fighters are supposedly also present in Sarajevo. How much of this is true?

[Karadzic] None of it is true. It is exclusively the Bosnians and Hercegovinians who are fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and even if there are some people who are currently not residing in Bosnia-Hercegovina in the border zones, they were mostly all born in Bosnia-Hercegovina and have hurried to their hometowns to help. However, there are not more than 10 or 20 of them. In Sarajevo itself there is nobody from outside Sarajevo. It is exclusively the Serbian territorials and members of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs who are defending themselves.

[Petrovic] The arrival of Lord Carrington is announced for tomorrow. What can you say about this?

[Karadzic] We were asked by the EC mission what could we do to ensure Carrington's and Pinheiro's [Portuguese Foreign Minister] safety, and we guaranteed them complete security in the Serbian parts of Sarajevo. However, we cannot give them guarantees regarding snipers from the Muslim parts of the town who could cause harm from a distance. The meeting will probably be at the Sarajevo airport, and it will be a bilateral meeting will all three sides separately.

Regarding the platform, we repeated for the umpteenth time our dedication to a peaceful, political resolution to the crisis within the framework of the EC conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina. Although we consider Europe rather biased, we praised Mr. Cutilheiro and his team for the efforts that they have made for the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis to be resolved peacefully.

[Petrovic] In conclusion, Mr. Karadzic, could you please comment on the demand by Fikret Abdic, member of rump Bosnia- Hercegovina, for the United States to intervene?

[Karadzic] I have nothing against the United States intervening in Muslim Bosnia-Hercegovina. We are convinced that the United States will not clash with us, as we have no intention whatsoever of moving within Muslim Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Sets Out Crisis Program

LD2204141492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1316 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 22 Apr (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, today put forward a draft platform for the settlement of the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis in which he calls for an urgent continuation of the conference on this republic.

A draft platform, carried by the SERBIAN NEWS AGENCY, SRNA, also calls for an urgent and unconditional cease-fire. According to Karadzic's proposal, the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina should give priority to the drawing of a map of the city of Sarajevo and of states that will make up Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Karadzic called on all sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina to promise that constituent parts of the republic would not join neighboring countries, nor would they call or accept forces from outside Bosnia-Hercegovina.

All sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina also should declare publicly that they would not accept the policy of fait accompli nor would they recognize territories gained by force. Karadzic asks for an urgent application of the new constitutional agreement, along with guarantees from the international community and the opening up of a process of demilitarization of the republic and specification of the role of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Urges End to Fighting in Ilidza

AU2204150592 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] SRNA [Serbian News Agency] has been authorized to carry the following announcement by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Council for National Security of the Republic of Bosnia- Hercegovina:

In the early morning hours on 22 April, the Serbian Commune of Ilidza was attacked by Muslim forces from the direction of Sokolovic Kolonija. Considering the fact that a large number of people have been wounded, we apply to all individuals and commanders to stop the conflict unconditionally.

The battles waged yesterday and today are aimed at preventing the arrival of Lord Carrington and thereby make a peaceful solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina impossible.

Pelivan Assigned To Reconstruct Government

LD2204170892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1520 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 22 April (TANJUG)—The new government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the reconstruction of which has been entrusted to current Prime Minister Jure Pelivan, will have 17 ministries instead of the current 11, it was decided at today's session of the government and the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The representatives of the Serb people left these state bodies earlier. According to this plan, as journalists were informed at a press conference in the Sarajevo international press center, the Information Ministry will be abolished. Jure Pelivan will put forward a list of the reshuffled government within the next 24 hours. At the session, enterprises were urged to organize their workers to remove the barricades that have paralyzed the economy of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

New Government To Have 17 Ministries

AU2204184192 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] We now have a report on the news conference that was held in the building of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina today. Nada Rajkovic has the details:

[Begin Rajkovic recording] At the very beginning of the conference, Fikret Abdic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia- Hercegovina, said that the Presidency held a session today. It was agreed that the future government will have 17 ministries and that Prime Minister-Designate Jure Pelivan will offer a list for a reshuffled government within 24 hours.

An appeal was also sent to work organizations to take part in the removal of barricades from roads so that production could resume.

Colonel Jovan Divljak, deputy chief of the staff of the Territorial Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina, spoke about the current events and the staff's efforts to improve the situation. He said that the staff is trying enable legal authorities to function, organize police stations according to the parity principle with regard to the composition of the population in the areas where police stations are to operate, and lift blockades from roads.

Reporters were also presented a copy of the letters sent by the Ministry for National Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina to Blagoje Adzic and Vojislav Djurdjevac in which the ministry appealed to them to prevent further destruction of places throughout Bosnia-Hercegovina [end recording]

Territorial Defense Issues Ultimatum to JNA

LD2204124492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Report from Sarajevo by correspondent Slavko Rako]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] A few moments ago Colonel Vehbija Karic, from the headquarters of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Territorial Defense, addressed the Yugoslav public, and above all the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], in a live relay on Sarajevo Radio. He has said that Serb territorial units and terrorists on Ilidza are holding as hostages two wounded and five other members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Territorial Defense.

Col. Karic also issued a special ultimatum to the Yugoslav Army in Sarajevo and Bosnia-Hercegovina. He demanded that the Army stop shooting from tanks and armored personnel carriers on positions held by defenders on Ilidza. If they fail to do this, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Territorial Defense headquarters will order the opening of fire on Army positions. It also should be said in this report from Sarajevo that terrorists have destroyed a half a tunnel near Bradina [about 60 kms west of Sarajevo] last night, and so have cut one more link between Sarajevo and Mostar. [passage omitted]

Military District's Warning to Green Berets

LD2204224792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 22 Apr (TANJUG)—The Command of the 2d Military District announces that from 2200 to 2230 [2000 to 2030 GMT] this evening Green Berets launched 11 missiles from a 120 mm launcher. The missiles hit the building of the command in the center of Sarajevo, and the surrounding area. Apart from this the command was also the target of hand-held missile launchers—Osa [wasp], Zolja [another name for wasp], a 12.7 mm anti-aircraft machinegun, and infantry weapons.

In the statement issued by the information service of the 2d Military District's Command, we read that the Commander, Colonel General Milutin Kukanjac has—through a member of the Presidency, Ejup Ganic—warned that shooting at the command should stop. Otherwise, he said, he will select a similar target to be fired at. We are warning all those who are shooting at the city, and particularly at military facilities, to stop, because they would bear the consequences for the situation that arises, we quote General Kukanjac's words. This evening's attack is being interpreted as "yet another proof that the directives of the Bosnia-Herc egovina Presidency of 12 April were not revoked and that tomorrow's visit to Sarajevo by Lord Carrington is not welcome," we read in the statement of the information service.

JNA Denies Action in Ilidza

AU2204125492 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Interview with Borislav Djurdjevic from the Information Service of the Second Army District, by an unidentified announcer]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We have the Command of the Second Army District on the line:

[Djurdjevic] Several times during the day Sarajevo radio and television have reported that the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] is shooting at the Ilidza Health Center. This is not true. The Ilidza Health Center is being shot at by members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Green Berets, and the Patriotic League. These formations began an all-out attack on Ilidza this morning. At about 1000 [0800 GMT] the attackers were sent reinforcements consisting of about 80 policemen from the Public Security Station in the Sarajevo Vojvoda, Putnik Street. An attack at Butmir Airport also began this morning. About 1030, shells began to fall, even around the airport runway. The attack was launched by the Ministry of Internal Affairs forces, the Green Berets, and the Patriotic League.

All information on radio and television to the effect that JNA tanks have been shooting are absolutely untrue because the JNA has not fired a single shell. Colonel Karic's statement that the Army is shooting at Sokolovic Kolonija is absolutely untrue.

[Announcer] Please answer the following question: Citizens are reporting very frequently—they are bombarding us with telephone calls—that shooting is coming from the barracks.

[Djurdjevic] That is absolutely untrue. We checked this out after various reports had been received. This is not true; the Army has not fired a single bullet. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Colonel, please hear this: Listeners are calling during this statement of yours and saying that they are watching with their own eyes shooting coming from the barracks in the direction of Sokolovic Kolonija.

Can you please check that, just as we are going to check the facts you told us now? [passage omitted including indistinct passage]

[Djurdjevic] [Passage omitted] Let me say this: Members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Patriotic League, and the Green Berets are painting their vehicles in Army colors so that everything they do can be ascribed to the Army. This was established yesterday at [name indistinct] and last night in (?Grbavica).

[Announcer] Please answer one more question being asked by citizens in their hundreds of calls. Is General Kukanjac [head of the Second Military District, which includes Bosnia] in Sarajevo?

[Djurdjevic] General Kukanjac is performing his regular activities and doing his job.

[Announcer] Thank you for your report.

Army Jets Attack Grude, Siroki Brijeg

AU2204185392 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Milenko Karadzic report from Siroki Brijeg]

[Excerpts] At 1630 [1430 GMT] today, the aircraft of the Yugoslav Army went into yet another death action in western Hercegovina communes of Grude and Siroki Brijeg. On two occasions three Army aircraft dropped an enormous deadly load on Grude. Bombs of enormous destructive power fell on the very center of the town and hit several business and residential buildings. [passage omitted]

As I was told in the Crisis Headquarters of the Grude commune by Mr. Mato Simunovic, vice premier of the Grude commune, a 10-year-old girl was killed. I have unofficially learned that the innocent child was a refugee from Mostar. Several persons were wounded. Medical teams in Grude are trying to provide help. During the bombing of Grude, a strong explosian was also heard in the neighboring commune of Siroki Brijeg. There was a lot of smoke in the air. At the same time one could see dozens of flares in the sky that fell on the ground between Siroki Brijeg and Grude. Horrific thundering was also heard from the northwest, most probably from the Kupres front. [passage omitted]

TANJUG Updates Fighting in Northern Areas

LD2204130992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1243 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Belgrade, April 22 (TANJUG)—Telephone links with the towns of Derventa and Bosanski Brod, in northern parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina, have been disrupted on Wednesday. Even special telephone links, used by local Post Office employees, are blocked, as TANJUG reports from the nearby town of Doboj.

People from surrounding towns are anxious since there are no reports from crisis regions. The region of Derventa and Bosanski Brod is a part of Bosnia- Hercegovina where the army of neighboring Croatia carried out an aggression and committed crimes against the Serbian population in April.

There was fighting in the steets of Derventa, which has a mixed Serb, Croat and Moslem population, on Tuesday between Serbian territorial defence units and units of the legal Croatian army, the Croatian national guard, which crossed into Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI on Wednesday said that two members of the Serbian territorial defence have been killed and seven wounded, while there were 23 dead and 40 captured Croats and Moslems on the other side.

A number of those who have been taken prisoner 'publicly admit they are Croatian soldiers,' the paper writes.

Croatia, which was recognized by the European Community and the United States as a sovereign state, is directly involved in the ethnic clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The whole of western Hercegovina is controlled by Croatia, while the United States, the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) and the E.C. accuse the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia of interfering in the fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina and threaten to impose sanctions against it.

There was also shooting in Bosanski Brod on Tuesday. The town, on the border between Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia, has for days been the site of fierce fighting between the Croatian-Moslem forces, which are in control there, and Serbian territorial units. The Serbian crisis headquarters on Tuesday announced that 70 Serbs, mainly civilians have been killed in the town and nearby villages in the past two months.

Further Update on 22 Apr Fighting

LD2204185692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1741 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Sarajevo, April 22 (TANJUG)—Fighting is underway in the southern parts of Mostar in southern Bosnia-Hercegovina today, and casualties have been reported, the crisis headquarters of the Serb municipality of Mostar reported. Muslim and Croat paramilitary formations are shooting at Serb-populated areas and at all vehicles moving along the main highway above Mostar. A school is burning and a Serb Orthodox church is under fire, the crisis headquarters said.

Member of the Croatian Defense Union (HOS), an armed wing of the Croatian profascist Party of Rights and Muslim paramilitary formations—the Green Berets—continue to arrest Serbs in Mostar, the same sources said. Mostar, most of which is controlled by forces of the Croat-Muslim coalition, is the capital of the southern region of Hercegovina, on the border between the HOS-controlled western part with a Croat population and Serb-populated eastern Hercegovina. Military

sources have said that a large number of HOS troops arrived in Mostar today from the Croatian towns of Zadar, Sibenik, and Imotski. A representative of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) in Sarajavo, Lieutenant-Colonel Uranjo Patacko today said that there were several attacks on JNA barracks in and around Sarajevo last night. A JNA officer was among the wounded.

Representative Miso Tokaca of the republican Interior Ministry, which is controlled by Muslims and Croats, said that no-one attacked the army last night and that the JNA had actually opened fire on the Sarajevo suburbs of Ilidza and Hrasnica. The republican Interior Ministry statement also underscored that central Sarajevo was heavily damaged last night.

Speaking on Radio Sarajevo, Lt.-Col. Patacko appealed to citizens and representatives of the news media to come to the barracks and see for themselves that the army is not backing Serb territorials with artillery and mortar fire, of which it is accused by the republican authorities (without Serb representatives).

Members of Muslim paramilitary formations and the Interior Ministry are painting their vehicles in the colours of the JNA in order to compromise the Yugoslav Army by opening fire from them, Lt.-Col. Panacko said. Meanwhile, clashes continue in Bosanska Krupa, a town in north-western Bosnia-Hercegovina. The fighting began this morning between the republican territorial defense controlled by the Muslim-Croat authorities and territorials.

It is quiet in the municipality of Cajnice, southeastern Bosnia- Hercegovina, and the population is returning weapons to the local police station. This municipality is part of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina which was proclaimed by Serbs immediately after the European Community (E.C.) recognized the independence of this republic on April 6. The situation is also becoming stable in neighbouring Foca, which was recently the site of clashes between Serbs and Muslims.

6 Killed, 40 Wounded in Sarajevo

LD2304141792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Report by correspondent Slavko Rako from Sarajevo]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

A few moments ago, a press conference ended in the international press center in the Bosnian Presidency given by Colonel Vehbija Karic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina territorial defence headquarters. He warned primarily the public that the deadline given by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Defense Ministry for all members of the Yugoslav Army to joint the territorial defense, expires tomorrow at 0000 [2200 GMT]. He also said that Bosnia-Hercegovina will safeguard all rights and status gained in the so-called Yugoslav Army to everyone who joins and pledges loyalty to the Bosnia-Hercegovina state. Asked what will follow after the deadline expires, Col. Karic said he expected the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army to resolve the issue of the army status in Bosnia-Hercegovina in a democratic manner and through dialogue.

Asked by journalists to comment on last night's MiG flights over Sarajevo, Col. Karic said they were on reconnaissance missions over Sarajevo trying to establish the best altitude for an air attack, because the territorial defense headquarters do not exclude the possibility of Air Force jets being active over Sarajevo.

Information about yesterday's events in Sarajevo was disclosed today. The Yugoslav Army acted as a buffer in Ilidza. It, in fact, surrounded the Muslim settlements of Sokolovic Kolonija and Hrasnica, and did not allow anyone to enter or leave them, and the army protected Serbian terrorists in the center of Ilidza who were about to be routed by members of the territorial defense. It is known now that six members of the territorial defense were killed and about 40 wounded in yesterday's fighting in Sarajevo. These are not yet final figures. [passage omitted]

'Horrific' Scenes in Sarajevo City Center

LD2204161192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Report from Sarajevo by Slavko Rako]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo is eerily quiet. Scenes in the usually busy town center, which is now empty, are horrific: streets damaged by grenades, shop and apartment windows broken,, blackened houses and apartments, and the Sebilj fountain on the Bas Carsija hit. Thanks to the consideration of members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry for Internal Affairs, your reporter saw all this. [passage omitted]

The latest reports speak of members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry for Internal Affairs advancing and routing the remaining terrorists from Ilidza. The institute for physical rehabilitation in Ilidza is on fire. Attempts are being made to rescue about 60 patients. A grenade has damaged a runway at Sarajevo airport. It is difficult to guess who did this; it is known who does not want to see Lord Carrington in Sarajevo [as heard]. [passage omitted]

Sarajevo Military Issues Statement on Attacks

AU2204214092 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2103 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Statement by the Command of the Second Military District in Sarajevo, read by Borisav Djurdjevic, duty officer in the Information Service of the Second Military District in Sarajevo—live]

[Text] Between 2200 and 2230 [2000 and 2030 GMT] this evening, the Green Berets fired 11 120-mm mortar bombs that fell on the building of the Command of the Second Military District and its immediate vicinity. In addition, the Command of the Second Military District was attacked with portable rocket launchers [rucni raketni bacac]—osa [hornet], zolja [wasp], Armbrust anti-tank weapons, and infantry weapons. There are some wounded in the command. Colonel General Milutin Kukanjac, commander of the Second Military District, warned via Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, that all attacks on the command of the military district must stop. If these attacks continue, a similar target will be chosen and hit.

We are warning all those who are shooting at the town, particularly military facilities, to stop this because they will bear responsibility for what could happen. This is yet further proof that the directive of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina of 12 April has not been annulled, and proof that an attempt is being made to prevent the visit by Lord Carrington to Sarajevo tomorrow.

Fighting Resumes in Sarajevo After Truce

AU2304074092 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Text] A truce in the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina begun after midnight, but fighting was heard again at about 0600 [0400 GMT] today. [Word indistinct] hope that the day today could pass in peace is provided by the announced arrival of Lord Carrington, chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia (?and other) members of the European (?mission) in Sarajevo.

Serbs Propose New Peace Platform

AU2204151692 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Risto Djogo report from Sarajevo]

[Excerpts] The offensive of the Muslim-Croat forces, after their failure in New Sarajevo yesterday, continued this morning in Ilidza. It is definite and clear that the initiators of the clashes in Ilidza are members of the Green Berets and (?residents from) Sokolivic Kolonija. The paramilitary army from Sandzak, which is concentrated in Sokolovic Kolonija, at about 0600 [0400 GMT] this morning attacked the area around the big park in Ilidza in a clearly planned and coordinated action. The hotels Serbia, Hercegovina, and Bosnia are situated there. EC peace observers and a large number of reporters are staying in these hotels. During the first clash this morning, the Green Berets took certain positions and penetrated 300 meters into Serbian territory. However, the Serbian territorials reacted energetically and pushed the Sandzak forces to the area around the Igman stadium. They are currently around the stadium. Only sporadic shooting is heard.

In another part of the town, near [name indistinct] road, the Serbian territorials are stronger, and this hotbed of crisis is under their control. The offices of the construction firm Igman are on fire. [passage omitted]

This morning there was some fighting around the Jewish cemetery. The Serbian territorials drove the Green Berets back to their initial positions. Vikic's special forces, better known as terrorists, are currently gathering in the Jewish cemetery. We have learned from well-informed sources that members of the Patriotic League stormed Serbian houses in Upper Kovacici, at the end of [names indistinct] streets last night. After they plundered and demolished the houses, they took with them Slobodanka Pandurevic, the mother of a two-year-old child, Milan Obrenovic, Arso Golotacanin, and brothers Milan and Ilija Trifkovic. The mutilated body of Ilija Trifkovic was found in the Jewish cemetery. [passage omitted]

The aggression of Muslim forces is obvious, as is the fact that they have heavy weapons. Disinformation by the organs of authority was finally revealed today. We telephoned the Sarajevo Center of Security Service, and, just imagine, they did not have any information on the clashes in Ilidza. This center, like the former Ministry of Internal Affairs, never has information on the attacks by the Muslim forces. This is strange.

Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, today presented a platform for settling the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The platform proposes the following:

First, the unconditional and immediate cease-fire and the respect of the 12 April agreement; urgent continuation of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina and its continuous work until a solution is found; the maps of the town of Sarajevo and constituent states should be urgently drawn up within the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Dr. Karadzic also proposes that all parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina publicly promise that constituent parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina will not be adjoined to neighboring states, and that armed forces will not be called to and accepted from outside Bosnia-Hercegovina; all parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina should publicly promise that they will not accept a fait-accompli policy, including the one that stems from the communist inheritance, and that territorial advantage gained with force will not be recognized. He also proposes the urgent application of the new constitutional agreement and the guarantees of the international community, as well as opening of a process of demilitarization and the defining of the role of the Yugoslav People's Army in the period ahead.

The partners of Radovan Karadzic in Bosnia-Hercegovina did not say anything about this. They are obviously busy trying to break Serbs militarily. However, the Serbian territorials are holding the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina under control. Who will negotiate after the war, and how, remains to be seen.

Bridge Linking Croatia, Northern Bosnia Destroyed

LD2204204292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Following last week's swift occupation of Bosanski Samac, last night, at about 0100 [2300 GMT] the Yugo Army and the local terrorists destroyed the bridge between Slavonski Samac and Bosanski Samac. This bridge was, until recently, the only safe road connection between Croatia and northern Bosnia. Large quantities of explosives planted below the bridge on its Bosnian side, destroyed its supports. Repairs to the bridge can not be expected soon.

Bosanski Brod Oil Refinery Reportedly Hit Again

AU2204192292 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Report by "Radio Free Bosnia reporter" Zoran Cvornak from Bosanski Brod]

[Excerpts] During the attack on Bosanski Brod today, which started late last night, 13 people were wounded. Six of them are seriously wounded. Among them is also a Canadian reporter. Steve (De Witt). He is in the intensive care unit in Slavonski Brod Hospital. Doctors are fighting for his life. [passage omitted]

The oil refinery was hit again today. This means that the dramatic warnings about the possibility of an ecological catastrophe for this and neighboring communes did not mean anything to the aggressor. [passage omitted]

Bosanski Brod is still being shot at from the direction of Lijesce, Vinska, Unka, Zboriste, and other Serbian villages from all types of artillery pieces. Serbian territorials, helped by the aggressor army and the White Eagles, have been and still are shooting at the most vital facilities in the town. [passage omitted]

Croatian Currency Circulating in Western Bosnia

LD2204230492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1047 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Belgrade, April 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav currency—the dinar—was being replaced by Croatia's currency in western Hercegovina, which has for a some time been under virtual occupation of the armed forces of neighboring Croatia, writes belgrade daily POLITIKA on Wednesday. That western Hercegovina—an integral part of Bosnia-Hercegovina recognized by the E.C. On April 7—was increasingly becoming a part of Croatia was also borne out by the fact that along with the Croatian currency Croatian legislation replaced that of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In communication with the population, local administration and police more and more openly applied Croatia's regulations or acted on regulation adopted by local authorities appointed by the Croatian armed formations. The daily points out that young men from western Hercegovina were being recruited into Croatia's regular units. The Serbs living in these parts, who have not left, were being forcibly mobilized into the Croatian Army or requested to sign a document of loyalty to Croatia. Those who refuse were subjected to persecution by the Croatian paramilitary formations. Often they are arrested and detained in special camps.

POLITIKA writes that the latest example of establishing a Croatian state on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina was also the recent attempt of occupation of Kupres. In early April, the Croatian Armed Forces seized Kupres and the surrounding areas predominantly populated by Serbs. Kupres is a place of strategic significance on the way connecting western Hercegovina with central Bosnia and the towns of Bugojno and Travnik, which host military equipment factories. These towns have since the beginning of clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina been under control of the Croatian and Moslem paramilitary formations. The Yugoslav Army freed Kupres with a decisive action on April 7 and pushed back the Croatian forces further toward western Hercegovina. According to the discovered bodies, during the several days of occupation over 70 Serbs were murdered and massacred in Kupres. POLITIKA notes that the defeated Croatian forces were now over Croatian television announcing a come back to the Kupres heights with another 10,000 guardsmen from the coastal cities of Split, Rijeka and the Istrian Peninsula. The message of the Croatian media was that they would return not only to Kupres, but all the way to Bugojno to the "territory of sovereign Croatia."

Foreign Minister Views Regional Cooperation

AU2204175992 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 18 Apr 92 p 5

[Interview with Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic by Laszlo Kovacs; place and date not given: "Our Country Has Returned to Europe"]

[Text] [Kovacs] How does Croatia, as a newly recognized independent state, relate to the European regional and multilateral organizations?

[Separovic] Croatia was given observer status at the recent session of the Central European Initiative in Klagenfurt, and we expect to be full members by June. This also shows how important it is for us to become part of European regional and multilateral cooperation as soon as possible. Since Croatia has become an independent state, our cooperation with the provinces of the Alps-Adria Community has improved a lot, and our counties will also probably contribute constructively to enriching relations within the Community after our law on counties is enacted. Negotiations on an association agreement between Croatia and the EC are due to begin in the near future, and we will also discuss business, technical, and financial cooperation. For the time being, we are present in the Council of Europe as guests, but we have already asked for full membership. All this demonstrates that Croatia wants to play an active role in Europe. Europe is our home, it has supported our century-long independence efforts, and Croatia has always belonged to Europe. In fact, it protected Europe from the invasions of barbarians from the East. We are not only proud of belonging to Europe, but especially proud of belonging to Central Europe and having special friendly relations with its countries—Hungary, Austria, and the CSFR—that are based on belonging to the same civilization and cultural group.

Full integration into Europe is our strategic goal, because Croatia does not need to be made European: It has always been part of Europe, but it was taken out of its European environment by force in the last 45 years.

[Kovacs] Please assess Hungarian-Croatian relations.

[Separovic] We have traditionally good, friendly, and good-neighborly relations with Hungary. During high- and highest-level meetings, the basis of our firm relations was further confirmed. President Tudjman visited Hungary in April 1991 and was received with the greatest respect. This was one of the president's first international visits. I also have met my Hungarian colleague, Geza Jeszenszky, a few times and his visit to Croatia is due at the end of this month. I would like to emphasize that Hungary provided considerable humanitarian aid to Croatia and I will again use the occasion to thank the Hungarian people and Government for accepting the Croatian refugees and providing temporary homes for them. Hungary's support at several international gatherings and international organizations has meant a lot to us. I believe that our common goal is to further expand our economic, cultural, and educational cooperation.

Hungary is our ally and our friend and it will remain so in the future. We look upon the Croatian minority in Hungary and the Hungarian minority in Croatia as connecting links. In connection with this, we attribute special importance to the tripartite agreement on national minorities among Hungary, Ukraine, and Croatia. It is clear from this agreement how important it is for our countries to settle the national minority issues according to European norms and standards, in the spirit of respecting the universal principle of human rights.

[Kovacs] Can relations be renewed between the former Yugoslav republics that are largely independent states today?

[Separovic] Even before the Serb aggression, Croatia suggested establishing a new confederation of the Yugoslav republics and creating a common market within it. Serbia though, together with Crna Gora, ignored our proposals and started this senseless war against Croatia, which, as we can see, has also spread to Bosnia-Hercegovina and is exacting terrible sacrifices from the Croatian and Muslim population living there. Is it possible to talk about any kind of "cooperation" under these circumstances? Nevertheless, we are willing to talk about this issue at the Brussels conference, but only on the condition that the aggressors undertake to compensate all those who have suffered from war damage. Unfortunately, no one and nothing can make up for the many lost lives and the families that have become victims. They will always be silent witnesses to this unique massacre in Europe's history. For this reason, we call upon Europe to intervene to stop further bloodshed and also to raise its voice in the interest of Bosnia-Hercegovina as soon as possible.

[Kovacs] What do you expect from the conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels?

[Separovic] We expect the conference on Yugoslavia to put the issue of legal succession on the agenda soon. According to the Badinter commission, Yugoslavia has disintegrated. It is intolerable that Serbia and Crna Gora act as the sole successors of the former federation. For this very reason, we have started the process that will eventually have to end Yugoslavia's international legal status, and we expect the support of Lord Carrington, chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia, in this matter, and we are looking forward to his effective measures.

Tudjman Calls for European Intervention in Bosnia

92BA0780B Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6 Apr 92 pp 1, 12

[Report by Aleksa Crnjakovic on news conference by President Franjo Tudjman on 6 April; place not given: "We Welcome B-H Sovereignty; There Are No Croatian Defense Force Members in the Croatian Armed Forces"—first two paragraphs are VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] "The current crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H] cannot be resolved without more decisive intervention by the European Community and the United Nations. We will ask the most responsible factors in the world to protect the Croatian population," Dr. Tudjman said.

Among other things, the president of the Republic of Croatia said that Croatia must look after the fate of the Croatian people in B-H, that the HV [Croatian Armed Forces] commanders who are launching attacks in Baranya on their own initiative will be replaced, and that any profascist tendencies are marginal, that they constitute an evil, and that they do not and cannot have any influence over official policy.

Quite understandably, the main topic of conversation at Monday's monthly press conference held regularly by the president of the Republic, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, to satisfy journalists' curiosity was the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, with special questions about what Croatia can and will do to protect the Croatian population threatened by genocide in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and whether it is possible to halt the bloodshed through recognition of the neighboring republic both by Croatia and by the United States.

[Branimir Bilic, HTV (Croatian Television)] There are few people who still believe that it is possible to halt the Serbo-Chetnik aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina. How will Croatia react to events in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and could this perhaps be halted by recognizing it, by appealing to the world community, or perhaps by creating a joint coalition against the aggressor?

[Tudjman] It was obvious to anyone who was seriously concerned with the crisis in the former Yugoslavia that the focus would eventually shift to Bosnia-Hercegovina. As early as a year and a half ago I had warned of this, both in talks with representatives of world diplomacy and at a meeting with Alija Izetbegovic. That estimation was the basis for our proposal on resolving the crisis, meaning the proposal that a confederation be created, an alliance of sovereign states, but unfortunately there was no response to our proposal. We have demonstrated consistency, welcoming the sovereignty and independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in which all three nations would be constituent elements.

We advised representatives of the Croats not to make any unilateral decisions, we advised them to take part in the referendum, and we have always been in favor of solving problems through mutual agreement. In my latest public appearance in Brussels on 1 April, I said that Croatia will recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina as soon as the United States does so, and if it postpones that move today in Brussels, then Croatia will recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina, as the Assembly has recommended. But the question is what this means under the present circumstances. I believe that both the European Community and the CSCE must take more energetic steps right now, because formal recognition alone will obviously not be enough to halt the bloodshed.

For our part, we in Croatia will undertake decisive measures against arbitrary violations of the cease-fire, from our side as well, because it is obvious that some of our commanders have been provoked by aggression and are losing their nerve. We will do everything to see to it that the war does not spread, while asking the most responsible factors in the world to protect the Croatian population.

As far as the possibility of creating a Croatian-Muslim coalition is concerned, I must say that such a coalition did exist, but because of inconsistencies in the policy of Alija Izetbegovic it proved unsuccessful. Alija Izetbegovic did not accept our proposal on creating a confederation of sovereign states, and even now his basic premise is that it could be possible to satisfy the Serbian part, so that he is sticking to unitary positions, something to which the others cannot agree since they would then be in a position to be outvoted.

In that case, Croats would be forced to move to Croatia, and their percentage of the total Bosnia-Hercegovian population would drop even further—and it has already fallen from 24 percent to 17 percent. In contrast to this unitary policy of Alija Izetbegovic, which overlaps with the policy that Belgrade proposed for all of Yugoslavia, the Croatian population has laid claim to the status of a constituent nation. I personally think that the current crisis cannot be resolved without more decisive intervention by the European Community and the United Nations, and I hope that the international community will draw the right conclusions.

[Janez Pirs, Ljubljana Television] There is information indicating that Croatian military formations are also on the alert in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Tudjman] Croatian military units are positioned on the Croatian borders. There are significant numbers of soldiers in the Croatian Guard who came from Bosnia-Hercegovina, who because of the aggression have asked to be allowed to defend their own towns, and we have complied with their wishes in this regard. But we have not sent a single Croatian unit into Bosnia-Hercegovina, but in a situation where the Croatian population is threatened with massacre, where they are fleeing into Croatia by the thousands, we have no right to keep citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina, volunteers, from leaving to defend their homes as individuals.

[Bozo Knezevic, YUTEL] Why is Croatia's recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina linked to recognition by the United States and by the countries of the European Community? As commander in chief, will you be able to order HOS [Croatian Defense Force—military wing of Croatian Rights Party] units to withdraw from Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Tudjman] We are linking recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina to EC policy because in our previous struggle for our own recognition as well, we coordinated our own policy with EC and U.S. policy.

It surprises me to hear you talk about HOS units, since there are not and cannot be any such units within the Croatian Armed Forces, so that I have nothing to say to them. Wherever small groups of deluded young people have turned up, we have sent them home or incorporated them into the regular Croatian Armed Forces. There is talk of thousands of HOS members, but there are only around a hundred of them. What is happening in Bosnia-Hercegovina is the self-organization of the Croatian population, in order to defend their homes, in order to avert recurrences of genocide, like what happened in Ravno.

[Madrid Radio] Some Croatian politicians are saying, perhaps imprudently, that Croatia will do anything to help Croats if it comes to war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but now you have said that you will not allow deliveries of arms, manpower, and other aid to Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Tudjman] Croatia itself needs aid to end the war in its territory. However, Croatia cannot turn a deaf ear to the fate of the Croatian population in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is accepting thousands of refugees and must be the protector of the fate of the Croatian population. It is precisely because of this that we will raise the issue at the Peace Conference and issue appeals to international factors in order to curb the aggression.

[VJESNIK] Could war in Bosnia-Hercegovina disrupt the Vance plan for the arrival of peacekeeping forces, or rather shift the focus of UN forces to Bosnia instead of Croatia?

[Tudjman] I cannot answer that authoritatively, because the people who decided to commit peacekeeping forces to the former Yugoslavia have decided to locate the headquarters in Sarajevo, with the logistic center in Banja Luka, whereby they were obviously considering the possible turn of events and wanted to exercise political influence so that such a crisis would not emerge in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Nevertheless, I think that the plan for deployment of the peacekeeping forces will not be disrupted.

It would be beneficial to extend the mandate of the peacekeeping forces to Bosnia-Hercegovina. Unfortunately, the EC and CSCE do not have the mechanisms at their disposal for resolving the crisis more effectively. Still, it is possible that the military forces of the Western European Union could intervene. Thus far, economic sanctions have not been effective enough, but perhaps a total trade blockade would be more effective, perhaps it would be enough to demonstrate military force, or to adopt a resolution that Yugoslavia no longer exists. The EC and the United States should consider the full gravity of the Bosnian inferno.

[Sead Saracevic, Deutsche Welle] Do you feel that the current attacks by the aggressor against Croatia are just provocation, or do they constitute a new offensive?

[Tudjman] The Army and the Serbian detachments are no longer capable of resuming an offensive war; they have already been defeated militarily on Croatian territory. This business now is only an attempt to provoke us into war in order to thwart the deployment of the peacekeeping forces at the same time. Nevertheless, the peacekeeping forces will be deployed and the army forces will withdraw, which is demonstrated by the example of the withdrawal of forces from Slunj. Unfortunately, some of our commanders as well are losing their nerve and occasionally responding to the aggression in an arbitrary fashion. We will take energetic measures to prevent this.

[AP] You just mentioned violations of the cease-fire, while Belgrade Television has described an advance into Baranya by Croatian forces.

[Tudjman] I repeat that some of our commanders are losing their heads due to the continual provocations. The commanders on our side who have violated the cease-fire will be replaced.

[Nino Kosutic, Radio Slovenia] Can you comment on Croatian-Slovene relations?

[Tudjman] Relations are normal and friendly. There are certain border questions that we will resolve in mutual talks.

[Voice of America] Are you firmly convinced that the United States will recognize Croatia this week?

[Tudjman] Based on what has been said by the most responsible representatives of the United States, we can conclude that recognition is forthcoming very soon. U.S. representatives have said that they will follow EC policy, and I think that because of this, and because of its own important role, the United States will do this.

[Branko Tudjen, VECERNJI LIST] What do you have to say about the consolidation of neofascism in Croatia?

[Tudjman] There is not a country in the world, not even the most democratic one, where there are no isolated extremist groups, so that it comes as no surprise under the prevailing conditions in Croatia that extremist elements are letting their voices be heard, including those who invoke the NDH [Independent State of Croatia (1941-45)] and Pavelic. This is a case of political blindness and fanaticism, but in part provocation as well. They are supposed to serve as some sort of proof that democratic Croatia is just a continuation of the Ustashi NDH. These phenomena have not assumed major proportions in Croatia; they involve only several hundred people. These pro-fascist tendencies have no influence on official Croatian policy, nor on the Croatian public. They are evil.

[Olga Ramljak, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA] Could you explain to us the statement that you made in Istria about how unbribable and competent young people who have not been corrupted should be elected to the Croatian government? Why was the holding of a peace conference on the island of Vis prohibited by the aspiration that that island be demilitarized?

[Tudjman] I said that after the election we want to set up a government in which there would be young, dynamic people who can grapple with new problems, who can carry out a fundamental turnaround in emerging from the socialist system, who can create a good economy, based on pluralism in ownership, privatization, free enterprise, and initiative. I was talking about establishing a good legal system in order to permit the rapid rejuvenation of Croatia, about tax and customs breaks to allow investment, about inclusion in the worldwide integrationist trends while preserving our own national resources. I was talking about how we must decisively root out corruption throughout the entire government. People in state functions must be well paid so that they do not succumb to corruption.

As far as holding the conference in Vis is concerned, it was unclear who wanted to discuss the demilitarization of Vis and why, and one got the impression that someone wanted to remove Vis from Croatian sovereignty, that they wanted to discuss some sort of demilitarization on Croatian soil, that they wanted to hand over Vis. The meeting was banned because we did not know who had instigated that discussion and for what reasons.

[Luka Aleric, Argentina] Are you still in favor of giving Croats from Bosnia-Hercegovina dual citizenship? Will Croatia agree to allowing Serbia and Montenegro be the successors to Yugoslavia?

[Tudjman] Yes, I am still in favor of dual citizenship. We sent an official proposal to the Peace Conference to the effect that Bosnia-Hercegovina comprise three constituent units in which the Croats, if they want, could have dual citizenship. That was our response to the looming danger that Croats could adopt an even more radical solution in a situation where the Serbian parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina have already begun to disengage themselves.

Neither Croatia nor Slovenia nor Macedonia is willing to accept Serbia and Montenegro as the continuation of the former Yugoslavia. Those two republics can join together, they can call their state whatever they want, but they cannot be its only successor in terms of rights and obligations. We must proceed from the conclusion by the European Commission, which determined that Yugoslavia is in a state of disintegration and that the succession process must be carried out accordingly.

2 Reported Killed in Attacks on Osijek

LD2304082192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Report by correspondent Mirjana Fistanic]

[Excerpts] The aggressor is making provocations on the Osijek battlefield again this morning, we have learned in the command of the Osijek operative zone. [passage omitted] Last night about 2115, when a general alert for the Osijek area came into effect, the enemy attacked the town again. The result of the enemy attacks, which lasted until midnight with sporadic breaks, are fresh casualties among Croatian soldiers. According to information from the Osijek hospital, two Croatian soldiers were killed and two were wounded.

'More Than 125,000' Bosnia Refugees Enter

LD2104155792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 21 Apr 92

[Text] More than 125,000 refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina have been registered in Croatia so far, and they are still arriving, moving in two main directions—toward Zupanja, Samac, and Slavonski Brod, and toward Ploce, Metkovic, Makarska, and Split. In their search for safety, food, and accommodation, many are even making for Zagreb, the Croatian Government office for refugees and displaced persons says in a public appeal for aid to refugees in Croatia to all people of goodwill in Croatia and abroad.

The appeal goes on to say that now, when it is most needed, humanitarian aid is increasingly small, stocks are almost exhausted, storage space crammed and in many places, particularly along the Dalmatian coast and in Slavonija, the number of refugees has surpassed the number of the local population.

Drnovsek Elected New Prime Minister-Designate

AU2204203292 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2000 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Good evening! The third no confidence motion in Lojze Peterle's cabinet was successful. Janez Drnovsek, candidate of the Liberal Democratic Party, won 126 votes out of 208 submitted votes, which was enough to get him elected.

Drnovsek, Peterle Comment

LD2204205992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Report from Ljubljana by Vlasta Ilic]

[Text] The Slovene government of Lojze Peterle has fallen. The Slovene parliament passed a vote of no confidence, and of the 208 votes cast, 126 deputies voted for Dr. Janez Drnovsek as new prime minister-designate.

Immediately after the vote, Janez Drnovsek told Radio Slovenia that the past few days have been fairly difficult and that in the next few days he will continue intensive work on the composition of the new government, working with the people he already has in mind. Drnovsek added that he and the new government will be facing a fairly stormy period, and that not all the names of the new ministers are known yet. Dr Drnovsek is also counting on those ministers and parties who did not support him this evening.

Lojze Peterle told Radio Slovenia that he will now devote himself to his other work, that is, to the party to which he belongs, and that the government will have to continue to carry out its work, but with a different composition and with great responsibility. Peterle believes that the future ministers in the new government will reach agreement as soon as possible.

Drnovsek Discusses New Cabinet

AU2204211592 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2000 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Interview with Slovene Prime Minister-Designate Janez Drnovsek by Bojan Veselinovic in Ljubljana on 22 April—recorded]

[Text] [Drnovsek] I must say that the last few days were rather stressful. Of course, the activities will resume immediately in the next few days. I will have to compile a cabinet and meet the people, most of whom I already have in mind. Of course, there are rather exciting times ahead of us.

Not all of the names are known yet. I must say that what was presented in the media was partially correct, but not entirely. In some departments there are several options, several combinations. Many things are still open and will be resolved in the next few days.

[Veselinovic] You also said that you are counting on the cooperation of the parties that did not support you so far. Does that mean that you also have them in mind when assigning those departments that have not been allocated yet?

[Drnovsek] Well, it is possible, especially if the people in question would be competent individuals whom these parties could propose. As I already said, in a way, I have already put aside especially the economic departments where I would not appoint anybody merely on the basis of his party membership. These people must really be the best available cadres.

[Veselinovic] It was rumored that Mitja Gaspari and Marko Voljc are not acquainted with their candidacy for ministerial posts, as the papers claimed. Is this true?

[Drnovsek] As I already said, the talks with the possible candidates have yet to begin. It would be counterproductive to excite all these people while it is still not certain whether they will be chosen or not.

Drnovsek May Ask for 'Special Powers'

AU2204221592 Paris AFP in English 2156 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Ljubljana, April 22 (AFP)—Slovenian Prime Minister Lojze Peterle, a Christian Democrat, resigned Wednesday after parliament adopted a motion of no confidence, the Slovenian news agency STA reported. Peterle, who headed a center-right government since May 1990, was replaced by Janez Drnovsek, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party and a former member of the Yugoslav collegial presidency. Drnovsek was expected to present the list of his center-left cabinet Thursday, informed sources in the Slovenian capital said.

The no confidence motion was the third against Peterle whose critics have long charged that he was being slow in carrying out political and economic reforms including revamped electoral and privatization laws.

In an address to parliament, Drnovsek committed himself to holding legislative elections soon and said he would ask for special powers if economic changes were slow in coming. Drnovsek promised a "more efficient" economic policy and rapid privatization as well as reforms of the business and banking system, STA said.

Since proclaiming its independence from Yugoslavia on June 26 last year, Slovenia's leaders have been grappling to come to terms with staggering unemployment—100,000 people—and an inflation rate running at 276 percent in February over the same month last year.

'Greater Serbia' Strategy in Bosnia Viewed

92BA0778E Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 7 Apr 92 p 3

[Article by Teodor Gersak: "There Will Not Be a War"]

[Text] One can hear once again that Bosnia-Hercegovina is facing a civil war and total religious conflict. That is not true, however. Those (outside Bosnia-Hercegovina) who are planning this carefully provoked conflict are now actually planning to go right up to the brink of war, but they will not step across it. Neither Serbia nor the Yugoslav Army is hoping to cause a total civil conflict, since it would mean the greatest catastrophe for themselves.

The goals of the Greater-Serbian policy in Bosnia-Hercegovina have remained unchanged for now; the only thing that has changed is the way in which they are intending to achieve them. After the failure of the plan to extend Greater Serbia to the well-known Memorandum line, Milosevic is trying to do everything he can to keep at least Montenegro and most of Bosnia-Hercegovina within Greater Serbia's sphere of influence, and thus establish a bridge with Krajina, which will certainly obtain the status of a Serbian autonomous province in Croatia. That orientation is necessary for Milosevic, since it is the only way that he can survive politically. That is why, through the ethno-regionalization of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the undermining of the republic authorities, he is dividing Bosnia-Hercegovina and blocking the declaration of its independence.

The Serbs, approximately a third of Bosnia-Hercegovina's population, want to take over 65 percent of Bosnia-Hercegovina's territory, and also, among other things, the main transportation crossroads of Zvornik-Banjaluka and Bosanski Brod-Mostar-Ploce. The fulfillment of the plan to link Krajina with Serbia would mean that about 40 percent of the population of Bosnia-Hercegovina would become a minority in their own republic; probably between 600,000 and 800,000 of the non-Serbian inhabitants would have to abandon their homes, since otherwise they would simply be driven out. The chances of fulfilling this project are slight, to be sure, but it is already being carried out.

The goal of the present ethnic and religious unrest is to gain the Yugoslav Army the role of a peacekeeping factor and protector of the Muslims, which would improve its international image after the atrocities that it committed in Croatia. Actually, through the strategy of a peacekeeping factor, the reorganized and rejuvenated Yugoslav Army is to realize the goals of the Greater Serbian policy. This is to be carried out in several military-operational phases.

First of all, several days before the meeting of the EC Council of Ministers (on 6 April), by deliberately causing complete hysteria among the population, they are trying to prevent international recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina and force the United States to give in to the Greater-Serbian demands. This will clear the way for them to carry out the ethnoregionalization of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as the basis for its subsequent partition. Of course, this cannot be achieved through aggression. They have decided to achieve it by "establishing peace" and the concealed occupation of the area to which Serbia's territorial interests in Bosnia-Hercegovina extend. It is also their intention to draw in the Croatian side.

The peacekeeping factor strategy is very simple. In the first phase, it involves incidents caused by paramilitary units. Their purpose is to cause interethnic and interreligious unrest through massacres of the population and terrorism in carefully selected areas. It is significant that this first phase is only being carried out in areas where there are Serbian territorial interests; their goal is to frighten the non-Serbian population into starting to leave their homes. A case of this, for instance, is the arrival of Arkan's forces in Bijeljina and the incidents and terrorist actions in Mostar, Sarajevo, Bosanski Brod, etc.

When enough inhabitants are driven out of the selected areas, the second phase can start: The Yugoslav Army will be sent to establish peace. Of course, this cannot be done by Milosevic or Karadzic; instead, Izetbegovic has been forced to take this step, since the massacres are being carried out against the Muslim population. The Yugoslav Army thus assumes the apparent role of the protector of the Muslim population, but in actuality, it is carrying out the Greater-Serbian occupation and the seizure of the main transportation routes, through which it will also be able to control the main transportation flows. This operation will probably go through several stages, but the final goal is to expel several hundred thousand people.

For a long time now, the JA [Yugoslav Army] has been trying to put on the mask of the protector of the interests of all peoples. It has started itself to criticize several obsolete unsuccessful generals, especially Mamula [as published]. It is accusing them of being to blame for the unsuccessful war and for the unsuccessful policy of the JA, and is announcing that the responsibility will be determined. There are more and more statements about the transformation of the JA, and they are constantly emphasizing in public that any political option is acceptable to it as long as it is only achieved by peaceful means. The JA has suddenly started to cooperate productively with UNPROFOR, and as a sign of good will it is abandoning some occupied areas ahead of time that will be under the protection of the UN peacekeeping forces. The commander of the peacekeeping forces is also making very positive statements about the JA.

At the same time, one can hear more and more statements in Bosnia-Hercegovina about fraternity and unity; at demonstrations in Sarajevo, people publicly defend the Yugoslav Army and call upon it to bring about peace; they carry pictures of Tito, and call for the preservation of Yugoslavia; a group of demonstrators breaks into the Assembly and demands the replacement of the government and new elections, etc. It is all part of the same scenario.

Another important goal of the current Greater-Serbian strategy is also to draw the Croatian armed forces into conflicts in Bosnia-Hercegovina. They have also succeeded in doing this. In this way, the Croatian Army is to acquire the image of an aggressor against the neighboring

republic, which would reduce its international reputation. Croatian TV is even so naive that it confirmed and showed how members of the National Guard Corps liberated Kupres and shot down two Yugoslav aircraft. The Croats thus portrayed themselves as aggressors. Now they can be equated with Arkan's forces, the White Eagles, Seselj's forces, etc. Really, Croatian political naivete is immense.

Jovanovic on Slovene-Serbian Relations

92BA0778B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
2 Apr 92 p 2

[Interview with Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Slobodan Dukic; place and date not given: "We Are Still Brothers"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] Serbia remains a loyal federal unit in the Yugoslav federation, and does not want to be either sovereign or independent, Vladislav Jovanovic says in an interview for DELO.

From our correspondent, Ljubljana, 1 Apr—"Mr. Rupel and numerous other political representatives of Slovenia, as well as our other republics, cannot understand at all that Serbia does not want to be either sovereign or independent, but instead wants to remain a federal unit, loyal to its joint state, the Yugoslav federation. This is why there are disagreements and questions about how Serbia should be treated and what can be expected from it," Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic stated, among other things, in an interview for DELO.

[Dukic] Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel recently said in an interview for BORBA that Serbia has to settle its status—is it Serbia, or Yugoslavia?

[Jovanovic] Serbia is what it has been until now—a supporter of the federal option. We are a loyal federal unit of the Yugoslav federation, and that is why we have decided that now, when certain Yugoslav republics want to separate themselves from it unilaterally, we and Montenegro will jointly restructure our joint life in what is left of Yugoslavia, and continue its federal life, while leaving the door open to everyone who would want this. Of course, it is up to them whether they want to join us now or later.

[Dukic] What do you think about the need for Serbia to recognize Slovenia, and vice versa?

[Jovanovic] Serbia, which has been a federal unit and will also be one in the future, cannot recognize any other republic as independent, and consequently it cannot be expected to do so. You can only expect such recognition from a restructured Yugoslav federation, and in any case only at the end of a negotiating process, i.e., when we have eliminated all the problems that arose upon the secession of individual parts of Yugoslavia, or at least open up possibilities for surmounting them. It is true, certainly, that in the meantime Slovenia has already been recognized by about 50 states, but in spite of this Slovenia is not yet a recognized political subject in the broadest sense of the word.

[Dukic] In your opinion, when will those conditions be met?

[Jovanovic] Above all, Slovenia has to be recognized by a majority of the present states, which has not happened yet. It has to be recognized by the UN and other international forums. Currently, Slovenia is only on the way to achieving this goal, but we must not treat it formally and legally as a recognized member of the international community. This is even less true of Serbia, which does not even have any such desires. Serbia also has not declared itself to be sovereign and independent. It is precisely for that reason that it is unrealistic and even impossible to expect any sort of intergovernmental relations in the sense of international law to exist between the present Slovenia and the present Serbia. It is quite understandable that life goes on, that people come into contact with each other, and that they encounter difficulties that have to be surmounted. This is proceeding pragmatically, however, without getting involved in issues of recognition and prejudicing the final solutions.

[Dukic] Diplomatic relations in the traditional sense consequently do not exist. Do any other sort of ties exist?

[Jovanovic] Yes. We meet and talk during the meetings in Brussels. There is no reason at all not to do this. After all, in spite of Slovenia's disloyal action with respect to Yugoslavia, we are still Yugoslav brothers and will remain so as long as we exist.

[Dukic] What do you expect from the continuation of the Brussels conference?

[Jovanovic] The conference will continue in the spirit of the issues concerning coexistence in Yugoslavia. It mostly has to do with the issue of the continuity of Yugoslavia, which goes back again to the previous issue that in any case caused the deadlock in the conference's work—whether we in Yugoslavia are witnessing secessionism, i.e., the separation of individual parts, or whether it has to do with the collapse of the state, which consequently can no longer exist as one state. These are differences that were already demonstrated in connection with the findings of the Badinter commission and the EC declaration. These findings, no matter how decisively they were formulated, were by no means able to get past the fact that half of Yugoslavia's territory and half of Yugoslavia's population is loyal to Yugoslavia and consequently does not intend to leave it. On the contrary, that half is firmly determined that it will continue to live together. That is how this issue appeared again at the EC's conference table. All of these things have to be taken into account in a way that will be in accordance with international law and practice in international relations. In view of this it is impossible to overlook several cases that are valid precedents, since the situation in Yugoslavia is almost identical with Pakistan's secession from India, when that fact by no

means affected India's right to continue to exist as an entity in international relations.

[Dukic] Will the crisis in this region finally be resolved?

[Jovanovic] I am convinced that we can justifiably hope for this. We have succeeded in surmounting the war, and introducing peace and an atmosphere in which the problem can be solved by legal means. The blue helmets will only further consolidate this peace. The conference in Brussels is continuing, and we are convinced that the continued conference will also be imbued with its original principles.

Of course, the economic difficulties that are putting increasingly worse pressure upon us are still present here. This will probably help reason to prevail in our heads instead of emotions. In conclusion, I would like to tell all Slovenes, who have probably forgotten that we are Yugoslav brothers, that they have to overcome their emotions, since one never knows when we will need that brotherhood again.

Slovene-Italian Economic Relations Reviewed

92BA0756A Ljubljana INFORMACIJE IZ SLOVENIJE in Slovene 16 Mar 92 pp 2, 3, 4, 5

[Unattributed article: "Relations Between Italy and Slovenia"—first paragraph is INFORMACIJE IZ SLOVENIJE introduction]

[Excerpts] Economically, Italy is one of the most developed countries in the world. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that its development is not uniform: While northern Italy is among the world's leaders, its southern regions are among the more backward, even by European standards. The contrasts between the economic power of Milan and Turin, and the political power of Rome, are somewhat reminiscent of the contrasts that we observed in the former Yugoslavia, although they are smaller, anyway; Italy, specifically, is linked by a common language, and also culture. These contrasts, however, are becoming increasingly more severe, and in many respects also determine Italy's relations with other countries.

It is also in light of this that one should view relations between Slovenia and Italy, which are at any rate very intensive (Italy is Slovenia's second largest economic partner), but often also somewhat controversial. A slight shadow is thrown upon bilateral relations primarily by the issues of both minorities, the Slovene minority in Italy and the Italian minority in Slovenia. Particularly on the Italian domestic political scene, the Slovene minority often finds itself in the role of a sacrificial lamb, which is extremely suitable for the target of partisan struggles. Admittedly, one should add that the Italian minority receives approximately the same treatment by extremely right-wing nationalist Slovene parliamentary and nonparliamentary parties.

The controversies in Slovene-Italian relations do not end with the issue of minorities. In fact, the Italians played a somewhat unusual role in the process of the disintegration of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia and Slovenia's becoming independent. Their attitude fluctuated all the way from great sympathy for Slovenia and its aspirations, to obstinate support for the preservation of Yugoslavia in any form, no matter how loose. An argument that was often used was that it would not be good for the Italian minority if it were divided between two new states, Slovenia and Croatia.

Above all, Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis, for a long time, was a stubborn advocate of preserving Yugoslavia, while neofascist organizations showed great willingness to "agree" with Milosevic's regime in Serbia on a partition of Dalmatia. Slovenia's efforts in 1991 were generally somewhat too focused on Rome, since it is appearing more and more that Slovenia has more friends in northern Italy.

After it was already clear toward the end of 1991 that Germany's positions would prevail within the EC, the Italians somehow woke up again, and began to advocate strongly the diplomatic recognition of Slovenia, only to turn around at the last minute and try to make recognition conditional upon Slovene signature of a tripartite memorandum, the text of which at any rate did not satisfactorily regulate the issue of the Slovene minority in Italy. When Slovenia did not agree to that extortion, the Italians, in a way characteristic of them, pushed the memorandum aside to some extent and started to emphasize that they were actually the first ones to recognize Slovenia, that they had been ahead of Germany by several hours, and that in any case they had been the strongest supporters of recognition. [passage omitted]

Italy is Slovenia's second most important trading partner. Bilateral economic cooperation is intensive in all areas (in addition to commodity trade, in the area of higher forms of economic cooperation as well), and it is growing. In 1990, the volume of bilateral foreign trade increased in comparison with the year before, with a volume of exports almost equal to the volume of imports of goods. In 1990, the Slovene economy exported $742 million worth of goods to Italy, which represented about 18 percent of total Slovene exports. During the same period, Slovene imported $726.7 million worth of goods from Italy, or 15.4 percent of its total imports. In the first nine months of 1991, Slovene exports to Italy amounted to about $510 million, and imports about $584 million.

Both exports and imports are dominated by a higher or high degree of processing. More than half of Slovene commodity exports to Italy consists of aluminum and aluminum products, wood and wood products, cars, parts and fittings, paper, cardboard, and paper products, iron and steel, electrical machinery and equipment, and audio and TV equipment. If we also add to these the exports of reactors, boilers, machines, raw hides and

leather, meat and other edible products from slaughterhouses, livestock, furniture, prefabricated buildings, vegetables, iron and steel products, and plastics and plastic products, altogether this already represents four-fifths of Slovene exports to Italy.

On the import side, the structure is quite similar. The most important Slovene import products are boilers, machines, reactors, electrical machinery and equipment, audio and TV equipment, footwear, plastics and plastic products, cars and parts and fittings for them, organic chemical products, and iron and steel. These products represent more than half of Slovene commodity imports from Italy.

Slovenia has developed economic cooperation most intensively with the neighboring Italian province, the Friuli-Giulia region. This particularly applies to so-called border cooperation, which is based on the agreements concluded back in the 1950's between what was then the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Italy. It involves local trade between the border zones of Trieste, on one hand, and Koper, Sezana, and Nova Gorica, on the other (the Trieste Agreement), and local trade between the border zone of Gorizia-Udine and Sezana-Nova Gorica-Tolmin (the Gorizia Agreement). Both agreements have similar provisions on conducting border trade through autonomous accounts, but cover different border areas. The essential difference is in the duty-free lists for imported and exported goods, which are only attached to the Trieste Agreement (lists C and D).

Also important is cooperation in the Alpe-Adria Work Community, in which members from the provinces of northeastern Italy and Slovenia have been active ever since its establishment 13 years ago, as well as cooperation within the framework of the Hexagonale. After the adoption of the Osimo Accords, which regulate not only economic cooperation but also other forms of cooperation between neighbors, and after the adoption of the Assembly's resolutions on border economic cooperation in 1975, mutual relations were further intensified, which is particularly true of higher forms of economic cooperation.

During the years of the conclusion of the above-mentioned agreements, regular trade between Slovenia (within the framework of what was at that time the SFRY) and the Republic of Italy was subject to a restrictive regime, and the agreements were thus particularly significant. During the decades in which they were in effect, they kept the same provisions, and only the lists of goods changed in accordance with the changing needs of the economy. Commodity trade, however, underwent several changes, particularly on the Slovene side. On several occasions it changed the conditions for the economy's participation in this specific form of cooperation. In fairly normal conditions for foreign trade and payment transactions abroad, trade under the border agreements proceeded at a rather low level, since there were no measures to stimulate or develop that trade.

On the other hand, under the conditions of more serious problems with foreign exchange liquidity, on our side, and with these increased difficulties for making payments abroad, the volume of the above trade increased rapidly, and thus there were even differing limitations on these forms of trade.

In spite of the above-mentioned fluctuations in the volume of foreign trade in accordance with the border agreements, we must mention that during the period of problems with foreign exchange liquidity, this form of trade made an uninterrupted supply of semimanufactured products possible for Slovene enterprises.

From the Slovene standpoint, the economic importance of border commodity trade is primarily as an effective stimulus for trade with Italy and the EC, since this trade has been exempt from most restrictive measures by the Italians, and consequently the border agreements (especially the duty-free exports under commodity list C of the Trieste Agreement) represent an exceptional opportunity for our exports to the EC, even in the commodity groups (the agricultural and livestock group) which are most protected by the EC.

In regard to stimulating economic cooperation between Slovenia and Italy, we must not neglect the significance of various forms of Italian financial assistance to Slovenia, which is already using the loans. Currently an Italian law on the border areas, which is aimed primarily at stimulating economic cooperation with the eastern states, is being implemented.

A large part of the foreign trade between the Slovene and Italian economies takes place within the framework of border economic cooperation and higher forms of economic cooperation, primarily long-term production cooperation and joint investments.

We have observed very favorable results based on the Slovene economy's long-term cooperation with Italy, since these are higher forms of economic cooperation which in particular allow Slovene enterprises an intensive, long-term, and equitable means of participating in the international division of labor, and increased labor productivity in exchanging modern technology for specialization in production.

The number of long-term production cooperation contracts is growing from year to year. The Slovene economy has concluded about 200 such contracts with Italian enterprises, through which commodity trade is actually taking place as well and through which overall exports last year were higher than imports. The Slovene economy's exports on the basis of long-term production cooperation with Italian partners in 1990 amounted to about 200 billion Italian lire, or 20.6 percent of total Slovene exports to Italy, and imports were over 199 billion Italian lire, or 21.2 percent of total Slovene imports from Italy.

The contracts on long-term production cooperation that have been concluded with Italian enterprises have encompassed a broad spectrum of the Slovene economy, and thus in practice there is no sector in which such contracts have not been concluded. A large number of contracts have been concluded in the electrical industry, telecommunications, ferrous metallurgy, steelworks, the food industry, the machinery industry, the furniture industry, the production

of automobiles and automobile parts, the chemical industry, the production of household appliances, the textile industry, the leather and leather goods industry, etc. The Slovene economy has also concluded about 300 joint investment contracts with Italian partners. In terms of the value of the capital invested in joint investments in Slovenia, Italy is in third place after Germany and Austria. Most of the Italian investments have been in the chemical, food, metallurgical, lumber, and textile industries, and in the production of various machines and equipment.

In conclusion, we can mention that political contacts between Slovene and Italian representatives at the highest level are increasingly more numerous, and that both sides are interested in even more intensive cooperation in all areas. In particular, bilateral economic cooperation between Slovenia and Italy has all sorts of possibilities for development; we can expect increasingly greater interest from Italian enterprises in investments in the Slovene economy. Slovene tourism also has great possibilities, since Italian guests are already among the most numerous in any case, and are interested primarily in golf, fishing, hunting, health resorts, rural tourism, mountain climbing, gambling casinos, etc.

Largest Items in Slovene Exports to Italy, January-June 1991 (by percent)

1. Passenger cars	10
2. Aluminum ore	10
3. Processed lumber	4
4. Paper, cardboard	4
5. Tanned hides	3
6. Livestock (cattle)	3
7. Fresh meat	3
8. Unprocessed lumber	2
9. Copper and copper alloys	2
10. Household furniture	2
11. Chairs	2
12. Trailers	2
13. Dried vegetables	1
14. Heating stoves	1

Largest Slovene Importers From Italy, January-June 1991

1. Gorenje, Velenje
2. TGA [Aluminum and Alumina Works] Boris Kidric, Kidricevo
3. Videm, Krsko
4. Primex, Nova Gorica
5. Julon, Ljubljana
6. Lek, Ljubljana
7. Sava, Kranj

Largest Slovene Exporters to Italy, January-June 1991

1. TGA Boris Kidric, Kidricevo
2. Revoz, Novo Mesto
3. Leather Works, Vrhnika
4. Gorenje, Velenje
5. Adria Caravan, Novo Mesto
6. Mercator International Trade
7. Paper Factory, Vevce

Largest Items in Slovene Imports From Italy, January-June 1991 (by percent)

1. Machines for spraying, pumps	5
2. Machines for producing cellulose	3
3. Aluminum oxide	2
4. Refrigerators, freezers, washing machines	2
5. Machines and mechanical devices	2
6. Passenger cars	2
7. Leather	2
8. Insulated wire	2
9. Rubber-soled footwear	2
10. Metal lathes	1
11. Chemical wood cellulose	1
12. Yarn from synthetic fibers	1
13. Automated data-processing machines	1
14. Products for shipping and packaging goods	1
15. Ceramic tiles	1

International

Belgrade Claims Muslims Asking Turkey for Arms

AU2204155292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Zdravko Milanovic report from Ankara]

[Text] Turkey continues with peace initiatives even today, but it is at the same time urging an end to the bloodshed in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is growing into a total civil war. Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin warned Serbia that after the recognition of four Yugoslav republics it would be very difficult to establish a Greater Serbia. He said that Turkey wants to continue its close relations with the former Yugoslavia and Serbia, adding that Turkey is closely following the events in Bosnia-Hercegovina, as it has close relations with the Muslims who live there.

A delegation of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] from Sandzak led by [party president] Sulejman Ugljanin also visited Turkey. The party demanded that Turkey intervene militarily and help arm the Muslims if the dramatic situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina does not abate. It is claimed in Ankara today that the SDA delegation demanded that Turkey not recognize the new Yugoslavia, close its embassy in Belgrade, and break off all relations, including the economic relations, with Serbia. A wave of discontent prevails in the Turkish public today as the clashes in Sarajevo and other towns of Bosnia-Hercegovina continue. The Turkish commentators are accusing the aggressive Serbian politicians, the Serbian Chetnik militia, as they call it, and the federal Army of genocide against Muslims.

Federal

Assembly Discusses New Yugoslav Constitution

AU2304100292

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0907 GMT on 23 April begins a live relay of the session of the Serbian Assembly taking place in Belgrade to discuss the proposed new constitution of Yugoslavia.

The relay begins with the Assembly session already in progress. Assembly President Aleksandar Bakocevic says that republican President Slobodan Milosevic is attending the session with Dr. Borisav Jovic, Jugoslav Kostic, and Sejdo Bajramovic, members of the SFRY Presidency. He also says that the president and vice presidents of the government and ministers in the government of the Republic of Serbia, the secretary of the republican Secretariat for Legislation, and the secretary of the government and members of the working group of the Committee for Constitutional Issues have also been invited to the session.

Bakocevic goes on to say that only one point has been proposed for the agenda—the proposed constitution of the federal republic of Yugoslavia—and explains how the text was formulated by Serbian and Montenegrin bodies.

Dragoljub Micunovic, on behalf of the deputies group of the Democratic Party, explains the proposal of the Democratic Party and the Serbian Renewal Movement for the adoption in an urgent procedure of a declaration on the joint state of Serbia and Montenegro. He says that this declaration would mean that the Assembly of Serbia would confirm earlier decisions by the Assembly of Montenegro and the Assembly of Serbia on a joint state of Serbia and Montenegro and the aspirations that Montenegro and Serbia have had since their inception to set up a joint state.

The Assembly rejects by a "large majority" after a show of hands the adoption of this declaration before further discussion of the constitution. At 0923 GMT, Bakocevic begins an introductory speech on the proposed constitution.

Bakocevic explains that the unilateral decisions by some republics to secede from Yugoslavia and the international recognition of these republics meant that those Yugoslav peoples who wanted to continue to live in Yugoslavia had to determine mutual relations within it. He goes on to talk about activities involving the formulation of the new constitution since the adoption of the Belgrade initiative and the bases for organizing future relations between Serbia and Montenegro.

He continues by talking about the procedure for adopting the new constitution. He says: "The constitution of the federal republic of Yugoslavia should be adopted and promulgated by the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly on the basis of the proposal and agreement of the People's Assembly of the Republic of Serbia and the Assembly of the Republic of Montenegro. This way of adopting the new constitution of Yugoslavia essentially corresponds to the formal procedure for changing the constitution of Yugoslavia of 1974 because it contains all the elements that that procedure has: The possibility for the Assemblies of the republics to propose changes to the constitution, the participation of the Federal Chamber in the procedure for adopting a new constitution, and the agreement of the Assemblies of the republics with the text that is adopted by the Federal Chamber. I stress that this involves essential and not literal respect for the current constitutional procedure because everyone knows that literal respect for the current constitution is simply impossible because of the refusal by the delegates from the secessionist republics to take part in the work of federal organs."

He goes on to talk about the democratic nature of the constitution and the way in which it can be adopted and changed. He replies to some criticisms that have been made in this respect. Bakocevic continues by speaking in detail on each section of the proposed new constitution.

He also speaks about the constitutional law that is to be adopted at the same time as the constitution.

Draft Constitution Endorsed

LD2204195992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1817 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Belgrade, April 22 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia today endorsed the draft constitution of a new Yugoslavia, which defines the new state as a federative state, organized on the principles of power-sharing and parliamentary democracy, with the greatest freedoms and civil rights. The Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro agreed in February to remain in a common state—[word indistinct] Yugoslavia, which should perpetuate the original Yugoslavia.

The Serbian and Montenegrin parliaments today submitted to the Yugoslav parliament for adoption a bill on the application of the constitution of the Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, which defines the mechanisms and deadlines for the setting up of new bodies of the federative state.

The Federal Chamber, one of the two chambers of the Yugoslav Parliament, should promulgate the new constitution on April 27 and adopt the law on its aplication which envisages for elections to the Chamber of Citizens and the Chamber of Republics of the new state's bicameral parliament to be held by June 30.

Under the new constitutional law, the existing Yugoslav presidency and government will carry on until the election of a president and government of the new Yugoslav state. The president of the new republic should propose to the new parliament a premier-designate within seven days of taking office. The constitutional law also envisages for the new Yugoslav Parliament to set up a state commission to divide the property, rights and obligations of the original Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia among the republics which had formed that state.

Adzic Blames Bosnia's Doko for 'Ongoing Violence'

LD2204212392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2108 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Belgrade, April 22 (TANJUG)—Acting Yugoslav Defence Minister General Blagoje Adzic said today Bosnia-Hercegovina Defence Minister Jerko Doko was to blame for the ongoing violence in that Yugoslav republic because he condoned attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) there.

Replying to two letters received from Doko yesterday in which the JNA is blamed for "aggression on Bosnia-Hercegovina's sovereignty", General Adzic said that the allegations were based "on the grossest of lies" and that it was the JNA that was attacked by order of the Muslim-Croat command of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Territorial Defence.

Noting that the order was issued on April 12 with the knowledge of the Bosnia-Hercegovina defence minister, General Adzic quoted from the document which orders an immediate general mobilization of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Territorial Defence, continuation of combat units formation in all municipalities, seizing of JNA ammunition and arms depots, blockading of JNA barracks and arrest of JNA personnel in the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

General Adzic underlined that "not on a single occasion have JNA units opened fire without being attacked first". He also said that 69 attacks on JNA units, facilities and members were reported between March 5 and April 21, which left 26 JNA members dead and 51 wounded.

"You are attacking the JNA in the grossest possible way and without any justification, yet, despite being the republican defence minister, you find nothing wrong with the presence of armed formations of a foreign state (Croatia) in Bosnia-Hercegovina territory", said General Adzic. He went on to say that two Croatian army brigades—comprising 3,000 troops, 15 tanks, 15 armoured vehicles and 14 artillery weapons—were currently deployed between the northern Bosnia- Hercegovina towns of Bosanski Brod, Derventa and Brcko.

"In western Hercegovina, there are eight Croatian army brigades with about 10,000 men, a large number of tanks, armoured vehicles and anti-aircraft weapons. In the areas of nearby Kupres and Duvno, there are five Croatian army brigades numbering several thousand troops", the acting Yugoslav defence minister said.

Noting that there had been "over 100,000 men armed to the teeth" in Bosnia-Hercegovina before the general mobilization call, General Adzic asked Doko if he knew where the weapons to arm all these people had come from. Lies and attacks on the JNA will not help resolve the crisis, said General Adzic and called on Doko to immediately rescind the April 12 order so as to restore peace in the republic. General Adzic advised Doko to demand a withdrawal of Croatian irregulars from Bosnia-Hercegovina and to urge a resumption of political talks between the three constitutive nations for a peaceful solution to the future organization of the republic.

General Adzic said the JNA would strictly respect all political solutions achieved by peaceful means and with the consent of Bosnia- Hercegovina's constitutive nations—Muslims, Serbs and Croats. The three nations' inability to agree on the future organization of the republic has been the chief reason for the current armed conflict. Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs, who account for 32 per cent of the republic's overall population, do not want to be a minority in an independent unitary Bosnia-Hercegovina outside Yugoslavia, for which Muslims (44 per cent of the population) and Croats (17 per cent) voted in a plebiscite in early March.

Doko's Accusations Rejected

LD2304094192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0749 GMT 23 Apr 92

[Text] Belgrade, April 23 (TANJUG)—The aggression on Bosnia- Hercegovina was carried out by the army of the Republic of Croatia, whilst Moslem and Croatian para-military formations started and organized the armed conflicts on the territory of the central Yugoslav republic, the Serbian Defence Ministry said in its response to a letter from Bosnia-Hercegovina Defence Minister Jerko Doko.

The Serbian Defence Ministry said that the content and tone of Doko's letter were in keeping with the efforts to accuse the Republic of Serbia for the armed ethnic conflicts in Bosnia- Herczegovina. The Ministry said that no arguments were given for any of the allegations set out in Doko's letter.

"You are mistaken if you believe that you will resolve the internal conflicts in Bosnia-Hercegovina better with unfounded accusations against Serbia and its leadership," the Serbian Defence Ministry told Doko in its response. It added that Serbia has from the very start urged a peaceful settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina through political agreement of all three of its peoples.

The letter also underscored that Serbia had no territorial claims towards Bosnia-Hercegovina. "The law explicitly bans the existense of any or anyone's para- military formations, and Serbia's government and Defence Ministry are doing everything in their power to prevent the activity of armed extremists and groups," the Serbian Defence Ministry said.

Acting Yugoslav defence minister, General Blagoje Adzic on Wednesday accused Jerko Doko of being responsible for the armed clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina because he approved the order for attacks on the Yugoslav Federal Army in that republic.

Macedonia

TANJUG Office in Skopje Reopened

LD2204134692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1151 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Skopje, April 22 (TANJUG)—The office of TANJUG news agency in Skopje, Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, was opened early on Wednesday morning after unidentified persons changed the lock two nights ago.

As believed, the reason for blocking the office rooms was to be found in the views of some individuals among the Macedonian authorities that TANJUG's rooms and office equipment were the property of the Macedonian state and that the question of division of assets and liabilities could be settled in this manner too. The TANJUG premises in Skopje were acquired by the agency some 15 years ago from the competent Macedonian organization selling office space.

Serbia

Bozovic Denies Serbian Intervention in Bosnia

AU2204171692 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Excerpt] Serbia is not involved in any clashes on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, nor is it denying any rights to ethnic minorities. Radoman Bozovic, prime minister of the Serbian Government, said this in Kragujevac today in response to the West's accusations during his talks with businessmen and communal presidents of Sumadija District. Zoran Glisevic reports:

[Begin recording] [Glisevic] Because Kragujevac businessmen on this occasion suggested that the republican government present its views as soon as possible so that the considerably weakened economy could finally start to overcome its problems, Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic stated that this depends heavily on the outcome of the Yugoslav crisis, something Serbia has been striving for with all its efforts.

We will soon get a new constitution, Bozovic said, which will free us from the decades of conflicts between the interests of the former Yugoslav republics and Kardelj's economic approach, which was to Serbia's detriment. Bozovic added that Serbia must withstand all pressure aimed at proclaiming lies as the truth for the sake of its dignity and historic responsibility. He then continued:

[Bozovic] Therefore, they are now accusing us of waging the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, as if it were not obvious to every ordinary citizen that these are the clashes of the extremists, nationalistic, Muslim-Croatian groups whose goal is to bring one-third of Bosnia-Hercegovina's citizens into a position in which they would not have the power that they should have. Is it a sin that we morally support the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina in the idea that their will has the same weight as the will of the Muslim and Croatian people in resolving the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

They are accusing us of territorial pretensions toward Bosnia-Hercegovina, although we have said very clearly and definitely for who knows how long that....[changes thought] Even the new constitution of the joint Serbian-Montenegrin state says that this state consists of the territory of the Republic of Serbia and the territory of the Republic of Montenegro. Therefore, the attempts to blame Serbia for the total dirty war that is being waged by the extremist forces, armies, and militias in this part of Yugoslavia simply cannot be justified by the truth and the facts. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Human Rights Violations Report Criticized

LD2204162692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1523 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Belgrade, April 22 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Secretariat for National Defense (SSNO) today criticized the United States (U.S.) Committee of the Helsinki Watch for taking for granted the He'sinki Watch report about violations of humanitarian law in Yugoslavia, and overlooking the fact that most of the accounts in the report do not give the basic facts—names of witnesses or times when the alleged incidents took place. The SSNO has drafted an answer to the report and passed it for consideration to the Human Rights Committee of the Yugoslav Assembly. The SSNO reply indicates that the report contains many political qualifications which are not customary in such documents.

The authors of the Helsinki Watch report, for instance, label the Serb side as "Serb rebel forces" and accuse the Yugoslav Army of collaboration with these "rebels," the Yugoslav ministry says.

The SSNO warns also that Helsinki Watch is trying to place the responsibility for everything that is happening in the crisis territories in the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia on the Yugoslav Army and Serbia.

The SSNO is aware, the answer says, that certain members of the Yugoslav Army or of other armed structures which it commands violated humanitarian law in the armed conflicts in Yugoslavia. Independent of the Helsinki Watch report, Yugoslav military courts have already opened proceedings against several scores of individuals, mostly for counts of robbery.

The SSNO further proceeds to deny certain claims in the report step by step.

Claims that the Yugoslav Army occupied Dalj, a town within the former administrative borders of Croatia, are denied because the Yugoslav Army only acted as a buffer between the warring sides at that time. Reports about "prison camps" of the Yugoslav Army are also incorrect, as well as the number of missing persons in Croatia. Allegations are denied that the Yugoslav Army arrested civilians after it took control of the city of Vukovar. On the contrary, the SSNO reply says, the Yugoslav Army made it possible for civilians freely to state where they wish to go. Regarding the statement that Dubrovnik was bombed, the SSNO indicates that Dubrovnik had been jeopardized by the side which brought armed units into the city—Croatia, and that the Yugoslav Army had tried to spare the old core of the city.

The SSNO reply underscores that activities of the Yugoslav Army in Vukova were limited so that the city was taken house by house in order to spare the civilian population, and that a large number of civilians did not die in the fighting but were murdered, often brutally, so that the Croatian side which was in control of the city is the only one responsible for their deaths.

Speaking about the damage to medical facilities, the SSNO pointed out the known heavy attacks on Yugoslav Army barracks in Osijek from a neighbouring hospital and the responsibility of the Croatian side in preventing the evacuation of wounded and civilians from Vukovar. Claims that the Yugoslav Army is responsible for the displacing of thousands of people and that this is a result of planned activities are rejected as absolutely incorrect and highly arbitrary.

The SSNO recalls that the problem of displaced persons from the administrative territory of Croatia began even before the fighting, and that they had been guided by the genocide perpetrated over Serbs in the independent state of Croatia, a puppet Fascist state formed under the wing of Nazi Germany in World War Two. Hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews, and Romanies were exterminated during the war in this state only because of their nationality. The Yugoslav Army also denied that it was responsible for the deaths of some reporters during the war in Croatia, calling such claims 'misinformation and gross insinuations.'

Private Bank Financially Aids 15,000 Firms

LD2204213592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0847 GMT 22 Apr 92

[Text] Belgrade, April 22 (TANJUG)—Karic Banka, the first private bank in the Republic of Serbia, has financially helped the foundation of 15,000 private firms since it was formed two years ago, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA says today. The bank has approved to private entrepreneurs short-term credits for business operations and long-term loans for current assets, offered all kinds of guarantees and took over their debts, director of the bank's credit department Goran Sinobad said. Karic Banka has financed also small cooperative farms for the export of fruit and vegitable, Sinobad set out. Recently, the bank allocated four million dollars for the import of cotton, thus preventing a set-back in Serbia's textile industry. Sinobad said Karic Banka was ready to finance Serbia's export with 100 million dollars which it had obtained from a foreign partner. If the Serbian Government helped the private entrepreneurship with favourable 3 to 5 year credits, Karic Banka would be able to help the foundation of 100,000 firms in Serbia, which could then employ at least four people each, Sinobad added.